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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The Voice of the People

NOW that the voters have spoken, it is time to find out what they asked for and what they and political leadership may have learned from the November election.

As usual, the various dopesters measure the results in ways that are most comforting to them and try to overlook clear but distasteful warning signs, and everyone is all too anxious to forget (and forgive) everything as quickly as possible.

The REVIEW leaves to others the interpretation of the votes for state and congressional offices except to observe that independent voters had a field day jumping back and forth among party labels. Some incidents and trends in local elections are worth special comment, however.

Big city bosses were repudiated in New York and Chicago. In both places, growing public concern over the corruption intended and produced by organized gambling was evident. In Chicago the dominant party tried to elect "the richest cop in the world" as sheriff and he was snowed under, with complications for the rest of his ticket.

In New York the situation was much more confused. Boss Ed Flynn cooked up a cute scheme to have Mayor O'Dwyer sent to Mexico as ambassador in the hope that, with the mayoralty election held with the gubernatorial and congressional elections, the resultant big vote would sweep in his entire ticket.

Tammy and Flynn told the acting mayor he could not run but that gentleman did anyway. No dynamic LaGuardia, he had always been a

regular and obedient party man, but this show of independence made him look like a courageous underdog, a little man being picked on by the big bad bosses.

He had the good fortune or wit, before the campaign had fairly begun, to appoint an apparently honest, able man as commissioner of police. This capitalized neatly on the popular indignation resulting from recent grand jury revelations of the bribery of police by gamblers. When the commissioner proved popular, the acting mayor pledged he would put the same type of independent, competent citizen at the head of every department.

Another revelation of the New York election got lost in the shuffle, although it should have been a shocker and might have been in a place that was not already shock-drunk. The acting mayor charged that Tammany had attempted to buy him off with the promise of a judgeship. Tammany retorted that the acting mayor had demanded no less than four judgeships as the price for withdrawing from the race, one for himself, the three others for his friends.

There was little indication that the people and the newspapers were surprised by this confirmation of the suspicion that judgeships in the city of New York are regularly used for political barter and that the chiefs of the parties get cozily together to pick the candidates, for their own reasons, who will be presented to the people for a mock election.

This deplorable situation was underlined by the fact that newspapers and high-minded groups fought hard to elect one candidate for judge who was denied this bipartisan nod, and he lost. So it was proved again that in our largest city judges are appointed—behind the scenes by party bosses.

All of which recalls two statements from Flynn's good and bad book, *You're the Boss*. In one of these, he boldly argued that he had

a "right to speak in behalf of a client to a judge on the bench" who, in the Bronx, would probably be an obligated judge. His excuse is that the same thing is done "throughout the United States," HE says. The other: "a political boss can survive only so long as he wins elections."

Can we look forward to saying a happy farewell to yet another boss who is a devoted champion of the spoils system?

Manager Plan Hits 1,000

ONE of the most significant results of the November election, in the long view, was the fact that new adoptions of the council-manager plan brought to 1,003 the number of communities having this form of government.

The year 1950 has thus far seen 58 adoptions. There were no large, widely known cities among them; just average and small places where life is normal and people are just people. That, after all, is the stuff of which the United States is made. Big cities, some of which get into the headlines frequently with their spoils machines and other strayings, are very few and it seems tragically easy in a number of them for spectacular figures to confuse issues and mislead the people.

Nowadays most of the communi-

ties which adopt the manager plan do so for common sense reasons rather than because of scandals. They simply recognize that local government is largely a collection of services that can be provided more satisfactorily with a trained administrator than transient amateurs in the driver's seat.

As the idea spreads that local government should be kept beyond the reach of state and national politics as much as possible, this sensible, businesslike method of administering community business will become standard—probably within the next decade, most qualified observers believe.

And well it might. Although growth was relatively slow during the first three decades of its use, it blossomed from 526 to 1,000 between 1940 and 1950.

Awake at Last — A Bit Late

It took a shooting war to prove true nature of struggle and its demands of citizens to make our way of life safe.

By CHARLES EDISON*

WE HAVE come gradually to realize that the United States is at war. The banner is that of the United Nations but most of the men wear our uniform.

The war may be the most dangerous and fateful the world has known. We cannot predict how long it will last, how far it will spread or how much it will cost. What we do know is that defeat is unthinkable. The stakes are high: the dignity and freedom of the human spirit.

We know some other things. We know, for example, that we must buckle down to the disagreeable need of mobilizing our full physical, economic, intellectual and moral might. And, despite our reluctance to face this fact, we know in our hearts that we cannot preserve our basic ideals if we undermine or neglect them at home while we plan to defend them around the globe.

We are late, terribly late, in recognizing the full scale of our peril. Our economic plans do not yet measure up to the task ahead. But we are learning fast and I pray that we will catch up. It's a good sign when Henry Wallace returns from his forlorn dalliance along the primrose paths of the fellow travelers and tells us to be prepared to fight.

*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey, served as president of the National Municipal League 1947-1950. This article is his presidential address before the National Conference on Government, Buffalo, New York, November 21, 1950.

We are still later in appreciating the need for vigorous practice of the values and virtues that we are set to defend even to the last life and the last earthly atom. We have not been so careful as we should have been to protect the basic right of American citizens to differ fundamentally on the ways and means of achieving the American dream.

If every citizen, prominent or obscure, who has been branded carelessly as a "red" deserved the label, we would be in a truly desperate plight. Let us by all means protect ourselves against espionage, sabotage and treason—but we must not betray Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln by destroying the free American market in ideas. How can we hope to break through the iron curtain of the Russians if we erect one of our own?

When I speak of a curtain of our own, I don't mean one designed just to fence in the reds among us. One essential fact about curtains is that they do not distinguish among persons or ideas. Let me give you an example of what I mean.

The campaign manager for a candidate for Congress in the last election was arrogantly irritated because a prominent supporter of his candidate had also endorsed a proposed council-manager charter. The campaign manager belonged to the political gang that had fought the charter tooth and nail. He had the nerve to attempt to coerce the

prominent supporter into silence by claiming that his man would lose votes if his friends supported the charter.

I'd like to ask the campaign manager whom he thought he was hoodwinking. His candidate happened to be a good one but he could not have been elected by the machine vote alone. He had to win the support of independent citizens who resent dictation at home even more than dictatorship abroad—the independent citizens who believe in nonpartisan, citizen-controlled and professionally administered government as provided by the council-manager plan in 1,000 communities.

The incident struck me as a perfect illustration of the way in which we unwittingly copy some of the methods of the dictators. The political machine was trying to coerce decent citizens into keeping their mouths shut on the charter by hinting that the gang might knife their congressional candidate in revenge. This was an effort to frighten the voters out of exercising their freedom of political action.

So far as I know this story did not get into the newspapers. But all of us can think of many places where the election of congressional candidates was influenced by utterly irrelevant local circumstances. Few were the candidates in the last election who dared to grapple with the grave questions of national and world policy in forthright terms.

The tieup between national politics, which should be concerned with the whole nation and the whole world, and local political machines that are primarily concerned with

patronage is one of the most dangerous weaknesses in our government. And it is one reason why so many voters feel frustrated. The result of this frustration is that the voters often refuse to identify themselves with a political party and even decline to vote.

Too Few Citizens Vote

In spite of the record turnout on November 7 for an off-year election, American voting statistics continue to be scandalous evidence of a serious weakness. Of course, it is much more healthy to have 50 per cent of the people going to the polls under their own power than to have, as on the other side of the iron curtain, 99 per cent dragooned into voting for a new lock on their chains. But 50 per cent isn't good enough. We should be able to show the world that our candidates represent more than 20 or 25 per cent of the citizens.

Because of the dominance of local political machines in our national political system, many of our national leaders are nothing more than third ward boys blown up to look like statesmen. The trouble is that although we can deck these fellows with broad-brimmed hats and black bow ties and give them the title of "Honorable," we cannot make them sound and act and think like statesmen. It is simply the natural and unchangeable habit of these gentlemen to give more serious consideration to sewer contracts than to national and international questions.

John Nuveen of Chicago, a new vice president of the National Municipal League, put it this way after

returning from a tour of duty in Europe as an aide to Paul Hoffman of ECA:

"Decisions of greatest moment in world affairs are being made on the basis of political expedience by politicians looking to the next election and not by statesmen looking to the next generation."

Upon this condition he blames our failure to do what is required to make Greece, for example, the bastion of democracy that it should and could be.

How does Mr. Nuveen, a prominent businessman, propose that we go about installing some statesmen in Washington? I quote:

"The only way we will get statesmen at the top of our government, in my opinion, is to elect honest, able and patriotic citizens to the minor political offices in our local government, for one will usually find that the holders of these offices make up the backbone of the party organizations which pretty effectively govern the selection of candidates for national offices."

There it is in a nutshell.

I sometimes think that our American cockiness reaches its high mark when we tell Chiang Kai-shek or the Filipinos that they ought to fire useless civil servants and cut out graft and waste. How about ourselves? The prescription is good for the doctor as well as for the patient.

Mr. Nuveen, who as a Chicagoan should have a faint inkling of the nature of corruption, suggests that we should have patience for the Greeks and their troubles. "New York City," he points out, "for years was unable to throw off the rule of

Tammany. Jersey City has had Hague; Kansas City couldn't get rid of Pendergast until the federal government interceded. Chicago couldn't get rid of Capone until they got the same kind of outside help and it looks now as though we are going to have to ask for outside help again. Certainly we here in Chicago can understand Greece's problem."

We must indeed help the rest of the world become fit for democracy. But we are not going to succeed unless we increasingly demonstrate our own fitness for democracy—a democracy strong enough to ride out heavier seas than we have ever encountered.

The 'Big Lie'

We have heard a great deal about the "big lie" used by Hitler and other totalitarians. Uncle Joe Stalin has not yet claimed that the big lie is another one of the early Russian inventions (as he has claimed most of my father's), and if he should make such a reckless statement we in America could easily refute him. The truth is that the big lie was a piece of standard equipment in every American political machine long before Hitler and Stalin learned to tell little lies to their parents.

We complain because the Communists have adopted our good old word "democracy," which they generally use redundantly as "people's democracy." This bit of thievery has unfortunately made some Americans apologetic about using the word. But long before the Communists discovered their "people's democracy" the word had been just as badly misused by every American political boss who ever hid

this nefarious designs in a shower of crocodile tears over "the pee-pul." From the reports that reach me I am of the opinion that some of our local politicians are still talking the same way.

If we are going to prove our right to serve as guardians of freedom, we must use our heads. Tanks and jet-fighters will eliminate enemy troops but they won't promote an ideal. The democratic ideal can be more powerful than any secret weapon ever thought of. People in other countries are like us, and we are like them. They, too, want dignity and freedom. Let us prove by our example that these priceless rewards can be enjoyed by every American and can be spread throughout the world.

Tonight I am speaking at the National Conference on Government for the fourth and last time as president of the National Municipal League. I think four terms are too many but I want to assure you that my interest in the League's program for strengthening local democracy is not limited by any term of office.

In the few minutes remaining to me I want to talk to you very simply and frankly about the League program, what it means to me and why I think it is vital to the winning of the war in which we are and, as long as any of us live, will be engaged. For we will be engaged in this war to achieve government that dignifies but never degrades men long after the present masters of the Kremlin have been buried or called to order.

There are many excellent organizations designed to do good to and

for people. We need such organizations. We certainly need to have good done in the direction of improving the efficiency, the responsibility and the integrity of our political processes and of the governments nearest to us—those of state, county, city and town.

The thing that has impressed me most about the National Municipal League is that it never tries to do good *to* people. It was started back in 1894 by people who had already organized in local citizens' groups in many cities for the purpose of doing something for themselves—of cleaning up the mess that was city government in those days.

The League has remained an organization of self-helpers. It never tells the voters of Jersey City or Chicago or any other town what to do. But it is always ready to help voters find the answers to their local problems.

League's Value

I found out how valuable the League was when I was governor of New Jersey. The League was the only agency that could quickly advise me on problems of constitutional revision and modernization of state government. More recently the League has responded fully to requests from public and private agencies which, under Governor Driscoll's leadership, have modernized the state's antiquated municipal charter laws.

The League's door, mail box and telephone lines are open to citizens of all states and to our neighbors in Canada and across the seas. The League has been a regular stopping place for visitors from Germany and

Japan brought here by the government to learn the techniques of democracy.

How much easier it would be if we could say to these visitors, "Do as we do," instead of "Do as we say, not as you have frequently seen us do." Many of them, however, are wise enough to understand that full democracy, like heaven, cannot be achieved on earth. But that is no reason to abandon the constant struggle.

The citizens of America's home towns have shaped the program and policies of the National Municipal League by the simple expedient of asking questions to which they needed answers and reporting experience in their own efforts to improve conditions in their own communities. The League assembles the reports of experience, digests them and makes them available to other seekers for help.

Tools for Good Government

During its 56 years the League has built up an unparalleled stock of information and experience in problems of municipal and state government and civic competence. If any requested item cannot be found in its own inventory, the League turns to the practical-minded political scientists who serve as its consultants. These men have supplied the League with its most famous tools—the model laws and charters which have been more widely adopted or copied than any similar documents in American history. That is really not an extravagant statement, for there isn't anything quite like the League's model laws.

Let me name a few of the famous models: The *Model City Charter*, which embodies the council-manager plan with the short ballot and non-partisan elections; the *Model State Constitution*, which is regularly revised to keep pace with the times; the model county manager law and charter, which are gradually bringing light to the most backward area of American politics; and the model fiscal laws, which have effected a virtual revolution in municipal finance.

There is no magic in these models. But we know from testing that they work. Many of the weaknesses of democracy are not due to evil intentions but to scanty knowledge. The League's model laws are to the citizen what road maps and highway signs are to the motorist.

I said I was retiring from the presidency but not from service in the League. You can't retire from the human race without dying. Once enrolled, you can't retire from service with the League's program except by retiring as a citizen, which is civic death.

The founders of the republic invested large portions of their time, talents and property in discharging their civic responsibilities. They took it for granted that any man of substance and discernment, any man of demonstrated competence in private affairs, owed a substantial measure of himself to the public service. The men who led the Revolution and launched the constitution were neither professional soldiers nor professional politicians. They were, to use a word for which

we should develop some additional respect, simply citizens.

We, their heirs, would not be here today if they had not counted themselves as citizens—citizens first and always. How do we count ourselves? It seems to me that the tradition of public responsibility has become rusty with disuse. A great many Americans find that even an annual pilgrimage to the polls is an onerous if not impossible burden.

There are of course many honorable exceptions. John Nuveen and Paul Hoffman are examples. So are the citizens who have traveled to Buffalo for this conference. And so are the thousands throughout the country who have worked with the National Municipal League to bring their local governments closer to the American ideal.

Measuring Up

To win the war we are now in, each of us must measure up to the contribution made by our predecessors 175 years ago. Anyone who thinks that less will do is begging for a free ride to a future to which he is not entitled.

Apart from the imminent risk of destruction in war, our lazy civic habits are as bad for the individual citizen as they are for the community and the nation. Psychologists have told us, wisely, that true health and happiness can be achieved only by persons who take a real part in community life. Our society, more than any other, depends for its tone, its efficiency and its very survival upon general participation in civic, political and governmental activities. I can report from personal experience

that there is hard work, disappointment and sometimes real pain in such activities. But these things are more than balanced by the satisfaction earned by doing a good job.

Leaders in both industry and labor have come to recognize the basic truth that the efficiency of human beings depends very largely on their satisfactory identification with their environment. That is why I have been engaged in a modest experiment in Sag Harbor, Long Island, an old community that has been bypassed in the shift from sailing vessel to ocean liner.

We have tried to develop small local industries suitable to the area and the people. Above all, we have tried to revive the ancient sense of community and to give every person, young and old, a real opportunity to become a factor in the life of the community. The results so far have demonstrated what researchers at the Harvard School of Business Administration have been discovering scientifically and what smart personnel men have been discovering pragmatically: happiness and efficiency are not dependent on wages and hours alone, but rather on the sense of belonging to a congenial company of fellowmen who are working, playing and striving together for the good life.

Assuredly we cannot hope to enjoy the good life if we lose the war we are in. We will certainly lose the war if we neglect the underpinnings of the free and democratic society which have made the American dream the brightest promise for the

(Continued on page 553)

Hope for 'Suburbanitis'

"A genuine cure calls for drastic surgery on the present scheme of local government," but the going will be hard.

By THOMAS H. REED*

THE BUFFALO *Evening News* a few weeks ago coined a new word—"suburbanitis"—to describe a disease which is crippling Buffalo and its environs. Let me reassure Buffalo at once. It is in no danger of catching it. It has it already. It is endemic in every urban community in the United States and Canada and almost everywhere else for that matter. It is not a new disease. Students of municipal administration have been recording and analyzing its symptoms and suggesting means for its cure for a generation. It was discussed for the first time on a National Municipal League program in a paper I read at the 1925 meeting in St. Louis, and it has been on the League's program almost every year since.

Many better and wiser city planners and political scientists than myself have poured out millions of words by tongue, pen and typewriter on the same theme, but frankness requires me to say that so far we have accomplished little more than a world's record for words used in proportion to cures effected. This appears like a pretty sorry performance. Can it be improved? I think it can.

*Dr. Reed, consultant on municipal government, has made numerous surveys of metropolitan areas, including those of Baton Rouge, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Atlanta. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Buffalo, New York, November 21, 1950.

A glance at the nature of sub-urbanitis will show why it is so hard to cure. Cities have always grown at their peripheries. Growth has to take place where there is room for it. The outward movement of city population until very recently, however, has been held severely in check first by the necessity for defensive walls and later by the absence or inadequacy of transportation facilities. Two great names stand out in the story of urban decentralization, Roger Bacon, whose invention of gunpowder made walls useless, and Henry Ford, whose perfection of the popular priced automobile has made it possible for masses of men and women to live anywhere within a radius of 30 miles or more of the office, shop or factory where they work.

Urban expansion, which throughout most of human history was deliberate enough to permit the slow processes of political change periodically to catch up with it, has in the past 40 years become an avalanche which has left those responsible for local government dizzy and bewildered. Population has spread all over the countryside around large cities with utter disregard of existing political boundaries. Nucleus cities have lost many of their best citizens and have been obliged to meet ever-increasing governmental costs with withering revenues. Counties have had thrust on them functions they are ill organized to carry out.

A vast demand has arisen for the extension of water, sewers, highways and other public works which the minor municipalities, except in rare instances, have neither the energy nor the resources to provide. New schools have had to be built while old schools in the nucleus city stood empty. The whole metropolitan area has suffered intensely from the almost entire absence of planning in this vast and unruly growth. This is "suburbanitis," a disease not peculiar to any unit of the metropolitan area but affecting every nook and corner of it.

Surgery Called For

It is easy to see why so little progress has been made toward the cure of suburbanitis. A genuine cure calls for drastic surgery on the present scheme of local government. For a complete cure many of the existing organs — cities, counties, towns and villages—must be removed and the body sewed together again so that it will function successfully. Most local politicians would as soon consent to the removal of their right arms as to such an operation. Simple private citizens are appalled at the prospect of changes so drastic in a matter so complex and, unable to visualize the beneficial results of the operation, assume an attitude of obstinate negation. The combined opposition of the politicians and people of any substantial number of the units of local government in a metropolitan area is usually enough to put a dead stop to any thorough readjustment of the number and relationships of such units. A nucleus city like

Buffalo cannot of its own motion put over city-county consolidation. It must have strong cooperation from county, town and village sources.

The single example of a successful attempt at city-county consolidation in the last generation—Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish (County)—is only an apparent exception to this rule. The new plan of government in this case was violently opposed by the parish politicians. In the referendum the portion of the parish outside Baton Rouge voted against the plan of government. In this case, however, the amendment to the state constitution authorizing consolidation provided for a vote in the parish as a whole, including the city of Baton Rouge which voted heavily for the plan. Success, therefore, was due in large measure to the shrewdness of those who drafted the amendment and the unusual lack of alertness on the part of the parish politicians who let it get through the legislature.

It is not at all surprising, in fact, that public opinion has not yet welcomed the idea of metropolitan unification. To do so requires the acceptance of a wholly new conception of the city, not as a compactly built-up area in which water, sewers, paved streets, lights, police patrol and fire protection are provided, in sharp contrast to the rural areas outside, but as a great sprawling macropolis covering hundreds of square miles where farms and pastures mingle with intense residential developments, factories and shopping centers.

Just such a transformation is rapidly taking place, but the nature

and governmental implications of the change are hardly noticed except by professional students of urbanism. Ordinary man is just too busy living to realize the character of the drama in which he plays a part. I see no reason for discouragement in the fact that a single generation has not sufficed to bring about general recognition that new social and economic conditions require a readjustment of the areas of local government. It is natural that such a reform, inevitably leading to the abolition of jobs, the destruction of vested interests and the abandonment of long cherished traditions, should take longer of accomplishment than improvements in the internal organization and procedures of existing units of government. I believe that the next ten years will see startling progress toward metropolitan integration.

That is assuming that we go about it intelligently. In the first place, nothing can be gained by promoting antagonism between the city and the suburbs. The motives which have induced people to seek homes in the suburbs are laudable—cheaper land, lower taxes, more room for the children, purer air, less smoke and dirt, healthier living, a larger share in community life, a new home in place of the old one become shabby and obsolete. Suburbanites are man for man just as good as city people and entitled to every bit as much consideration. To array the city against the suburbs is to court defeat. The objective in every successful campaign against suburbanitis must be the welfare of the whole

metropolitan area—the greater city of tomorrow.

An intelligent approach to the problem of suburbanitis also calls for the most careful study of the facts of each situation. Although suburbanitis is present in more or less aggravated form in every large urban concentration, each such area has its own peculiarities which must be taken into account in determining the methods to be adopted in combatting the disease. I personally prefer to take my medicines on a doctor's prescription and, in my opinion, the same principle applies to governmental changes. The attempt to cram down the throats of Community A a dose of reform on the sole ground that a similar dose has produced favorable results in Community B decreases the chance of the dose being swallowed by A and increases the chance that if the dose is taken it will produce an unfortunate reaction. To be of real value the study must be impartial. To be generally accepted it must also appear to be impartial. The best course is to have it sponsored by a committee as broadly representative of all conflicting interests as possible.

Look for Complete Cure

Such a study should consider first what remedy is necessary for a complete cure rather than half measures and palliatives. It does not necessarily follow, however, that if a complete cure — out-and-out city-county consolidation let us say — is bound to be defeated, that all hope of progress must be surrendered. A choice must be made between the

relative advantages of the uphill fight over a period of years, in successive elections and before successive sessions of the legislature, and some immediately achievable gain. The uphill fight may be the shortest road to ultimate victory, and the history of local government reform is full of instances in which brave men and women have fought doggedly through defeat after defeat to win in the end. The adoption of half measures or palliatives, moreover, has served to delay real integration. The very success of the state controlled Massachusetts Metropolitan Commission has blocked for nearly three-quarters of a century a self-governing Greater Boston. I do not favor any plan for selling out local self-government for a mess of metropolitan district potage, no matter how well seasoned the dish may be.

The Borough Plan

There are, however, steps short of complete consolidation which may properly be taken if the opposition to going the whole way seems too overwhelming. One of these is the so-called borough plan in which the functions of local government in the area are divided between a central metropolitan government and the existing municipal units. Such a plan avoids some at least of the usual opposition from suburban units. In fact, the only time that a complete charter providing for such a plan has been presented to the voters of a metropolitan area it was accepted by a majority of the voters in the central city and outside as well.

This was the plan proposed by the

Pennsylvania Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Counties of the Second Class (Allegheny) in 1929. It preserved, indeed froze in forever, Pittsburgh and the other 121 cities, boroughs and townships of Allegheny County, with all their functions except the few which were transferred to the county under the name of "City of Pittsburgh." It is usual to pass this plan off with the statement that it failed at the polls. It did but only because of the peculiar method of ratification required by the enabling constitutional amendment, to wit, by a two-thirds majority in a majority of the cities, boroughs and townships of the county. It is usually forgotten that while it got a two-thirds majority in four less than a majority of the 122 units concerned, it not only carried in Pittsburgh by better than a two-thirds vote but had a majority of the votes cast in two-thirds of all the units outside. It actually was approved by the people, as votes in America are usually counted, not only of the city of Pittsburgh but the remainder of Allegheny County as well. The vote, moreover, came after a long and hard fought campaign in which the issues were clearly presented to the public.

Only two other borough schemes have been put to vote in any form, the St. Louis plan of 1930 and the Miami-Dade County plan of 1948. In both instances the test came on the adoption not of a charter but of an enabling constitutional amendment. The St. Louis amendment was defeated in a statewide referendum at the earnest behest of the County Court of St. Louis County where the

vote was also in the negative. The Dade County amendment which would have consolidated Miami and some small municipalities with Dade County while leaving the larger suburban places in status quo was voted down in a preliminary referendum in Dade County at the May primary in 1948. The Miami-Dade County plan, on which 38,000 out of 90,000 of those voting in the primary failed to vote at all, is significant of the difficulty of selling a metropolitan pig in a poke.

It will be worth the while of a community afflicted with suburbanitis to consider the merits of a plan of metropolitan organization which received popular endorsement in its one clear-cut presentation to the public in recent years. I must warn you, however, that the only municipal organization of the kind now in existence is the administrative county of London. New York, it is true, has boroughs, but they are in no sense autonomous units of local self-government. They are the districts from which members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment are elected. Certain public works activities are organized on a borough basis under the direction of the borough president. These activities aggregate but a minor fraction of the total city budget in which they are included. Like the Paris arrondissements, the New York City boroughs merely provide a means for some deconcentration of an administration which would otherwise be wholly centralized.

It should also be pointed out that the great disparity in size and character between the cities, towns

and villages in any large metropolitan area, and in New York State especially where villages are superimposed on towns, presents difficulties in the way of adoption of the borough plan. The reorganization of the area into boroughs of something like equal size might prove every bit as difficult to sell as an out-and-out consolidation. The possibilities of the borough plan should be canvassed but without any commitment in advance that that plan will prove feasible.

Functional Consolidation

Most of the progress toward the integration of metropolitan areas which has actually taken place has been in the direction of what for lack of a better term is called "functional consolidation." I would prefer to eliminate from this discussion functional consolidation effected by the creation of ad hoc authorities. They complicate the already too complex picture of local government. Where they are not responsible to the local electorate they are a threat to local self-government. I would not for a moment think of belittling the credit that is due to some of these authorities (especially some of those furthest removed from popular control) for the outstanding services they have rendered. Where an international or state line cuts the area to be served the only practicable device is an ad hoc authority based on treaty and concurrent legislation. For matters within the jurisdiction of a single state, however, there is seldom any excuse for increasing the number of local units.

Functional consolidation in practice usually has been limited to

transferring to a county functions hitherto performed by the smaller municipal units such as cities, towns and villages. Where the metropolitan area covers the whole or parts of several counties such transfers fall a good deal short of providing metropolitan integration. Even in such cases, however, its result is to reduce the number of units struggling with a particular function and, where the county corresponds fairly well with the metropolitan area, actual integration for that particular function, at least, is accomplished.

The Buffalo metropolitan area broadly conceived lies in both Canada and the United States and includes both sides of the Niagara River for its entire length. I take it, however, that Erie County is the maximum area in which as a practical matter we can expect definite progress toward integration in the reasonably near future. Already considerable progress has been made in the way of functional consolidation in Erie County as contrasted with most counties in this country. Health, hospitals, libraries and welfare—including all forms of poor relief, usually wholly or partly municipal functions, are in the Buffalo area attended to exclusively by Erie County. It is obvious that, to the extent that other municipal functions are transferred to the county, they will be administered and paid for on a metropolitan area-wide basis.

Here is the line of least resistance which by-passes for the time at least the question of duplications as between towns and villages, and which avoids any frontal attack on the ex-

istence of any unit. Such functional consolidation can be carried to the point where it amounts practically to the borough form of consolidation except for a few points of greater or lesser importance. The Pittsburgh borough plan gave the name "City of Pittsburgh" to Allegheny County. This had a certain prestige value for Pittsburgh businessmen. Especially in a city which has ceased to show any population increase, extending its name over the rapidly growing suburbs is the easiest way in which its chamber of commerce and other business leaders can show the world what a big and thriving place it really is.

Give County Control

Moreover, the effects of suburbanitis cannot be removed unless the county not only takes over services but also controls. It is not only important to repair the ravages of the disease but to prevent its recurrence. As a matter of fact, the tendency for population to seek the outer reaches of the metropolitan area is even stronger today than it was ten or twenty years ago. It was held in check somewhat by the restrictions on building activity during the war and postwar periods, but in the last two or three years the floodgates have opened again. To what extent the flow may be restrained by new regulations no one can say, but one can say that with the removal of the new regulations the outward movement will go on with increased velocity.

The mere words "atomic bomb" suggest a motive to the dispersion of urban population more powerful

than any which has preceded it. If the vastly expanded and less dense urban areas of the future are not to become sprawling jumbles of inconvenience in which proper works and services can be furnished only at impossible cost, their growth must be regulated. European cities have to a considerable extent escaped the worst consequences of suburbanitis because they generally forbid subdivision of outlying lands until vacant lands contiguous to developed areas have been built up.

We cannot do this by direct command under our constitutional system but a great deal can be accomplished by vigorously enforced zoning based on comprehensive and intelligent plans. By making lot sizes in outlying areas large—as large perhaps as two to five acres—and by requiring that the necessary services be installed in all subdivisions before the plat can be accepted for filing, a strong curb can be placed on the premature development of thickly built-up sections far from the sources of water supply and sewage disposal facilities. Such planning and zoning powers are not ordinarily possessed by counties but, if suburbanitis is to be attacked by transferring functions beyond the capacity of cities, towns and villages to the county, such strong planning and zoning powers must be entrusted to the unit which has jurisdiction over the whole area.

A frequent motive for settlement in the outlying parts of a metropolitan area is that less stringent building regulations permit the construction of cheaper homes. This means not merely that a few build their own

homes in their off hours—an exhibition of American initiative with which we have natural sympathy—but the building of homes wholesale by unscrupulous contractors who foist their jerry-built work on unsuspecting customers. A sound building code on a county-wide basis is a necessary corollary of zoning in securing ordered and substantial development. Power over this matter too ought to be extended to the county if it is to be able effectively to combat suburbanitis.

Millions for Highways

The outward movement of population has been stimulated further by the widely current policy of spending millions to make the central city more accessible to the suburbs, while little or nothing is done to improve or rehabilitate the declining quarters of the city itself. I am not suggesting that arterial highway developments are not in many instances necessary. I am suggesting that making it ever easier to live outside and work inside the city while nothing is done to retain or restore the attractiveness of close-in areas is not the way to cure suburbanitis. It is obvious that if this aspect of the problem is to be grappled with effectively a single metropolitan-wide agency—the county if the attack is along functional lines—must be given planning and public works powers broad enough to deal with both horns of the dilemma.

There is an unwarranted stimulus to the outward movement of population which is beyond the reach of any local authority—the policy of the federal agencies which have to

do with housing and the guaranteeing of mortgages. Those dealing with the encouragement of low-rent housing have often sought cheap land in the suburbs for their projects without much regard to future problems of service and administration. The FHA has consistently put the weight of its enormous credit resources behind the development of new projects in outlying sections. It does not do much good to integrate local government within a defined area if immediately thereafter vast housing projects or speculative building developments are to be set up under federal authority just over the border. The federal authorities will say that they conform to the local planning and zoning regulations, but if this means of control is to be at all effective the regulations must apply in the area in which the project or development is projected. This is a further argument for the planning and zoning powers of the county being extended over the whole metropolitan area.

Reorganize County Structure

The greatest single obstacle to the progress of functional consolidation as a cure for suburbanitis is that county government is not organized to handle to the best advantage such extensive powers of policy control and administration. I want to make it clear in what I have to say on this subject that I am not impugning the character or motives of any county official anywhere. I have no hesitation, however, in saying that county government under large boards of supervisors, as in New York and Michigan, is peculiarly

unadapted to the job of performing functions of the kind necessary for the cure of suburbanitis. County government, except in a very few counties which have been reorganized in recent years, has no head. Its powers are distributed between a county board and a number of elective officers whose duties are narrowly defined by state law. This board, as a rule, works through a variety of officers and commissions without the benefit of any centralized executive authority. It is a system well enough adapted to the conditions of a simple agricultural economy but hopelessly inadequate to manage the complex affairs of a populous metropolitan area.

Reorganization of the county government along modern municipal lines is therefore a condition precedent to a permanent and constructive plan of metropolitan integration, even one which leaves existing cities, towns and villages with a considerable part of their present responsibilities.

Reorganization of county government is a tough job, especially where it is accompanied by extension of its powers into the municipal field. Take Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, for example. Reorganization and consolidation have been in the public mind for years. A charter which included nothing in the way of consolidation won a popular victory more than a decade ago but was put to death on a technicality by the Ohio Supreme Court. For most of 1950 a second charter commission toiled and wrangled, coming up with a document which provided for a county board of nine elected

at large and an elective county administrator with broad executive powers. It provided also for transferring to the county from Cleveland and other municipalities functions most of which Erie County already handles — hospitals, charitable and correctional institutions, poor relief, public health, airports, enforcement of minimum standards for building construction and the intermunicipal aspects of sewers, water and similar matters. It required a special referendum before the county could take over Cleveland's transportation system. No one could say it was a revolutionary measure, but it went down before a substantial popular majority on the seventh of November.

There are enough examples of reorganized county governments to give encouragement to Buffalonians. Monroe County, New York, has a county manager, while Westchester and Nassau Counties, New York, have elective county executives. All have administrative organizations which compare favorably with the best governed cities of the state. County home rule is already established in the constitution and laws of New York and reorganization in Erie County only waits upon action by its citizens. County managers are also to be found in several large counties in Virginia, California, Georgia and other states.

Sell Idea to Citizens

I think I have said enough to indicate the types of reform which can be attempted with reasonable chance of success in eradicating or at least mitigating suburbanitis. When, however, a reasonable plan,

adapted to the needs of the particular community, has been selected after careful and impartial study, there remains the job of selling it to the people, for unless you can sell it to the people the politicians at the courthouse and in the legislature can hardly be expected to do much about it. There are, of course, all sorts of devices for selling ideas to the public. We in Connecticut have just had a deluge of them in the political campaign of 1950: comic strips, singing "politicals," television programs, speakers arriving (or not) in helicopters, as well as the older inducements of quartettes, bands, sound trucks, transparencies and billboards. You can get plenty of better advice than mine on the form of presentation of the case for the selected cure for suburbanitis. Whatever the method, what has to be got to the people are the facts. They must be presented persistently but good humoredly.

We have mentioned the importance of the group which sponsors the study being representative of all elements in the metropolitan area. It is just as important that the campaign be similarly sponsored. The city and its officials cannot wage war on the county and its officials and the lesser municipalities and their officials and win anything but self-approbation and defeat. In these matters I am a believer in citizen action under the leadership of a citizen group without personal axes to grind. The cure of suburbanitis, even its substantial amelioration, requires action of a kind which politicians rarely take except under some form of compulsion. Their personal

and party interests are too deeply involved for it to be otherwise.

The task of convincing the public is by no means a hopeless one. The facts looked at from a long-range point of view will do the job. I do not blame home owners in the suburbs for reacting on first impression against the idea of absorption by a neighboring big city. They have gone to the outskirts in the hope of cheaper and better living. They may not have found it. The construction, maintenance and operation of a well and a septic tank, higher fire insurance rates, the fee paid to the garbage collector and other costs incident to semi-rural life, not infrequently balance the lower price of the lot and the lower taxes. All the more reason why they should balk at the higher taxes of a large city on top of these investments. You can't talk them out of their opposition by calling them parasites, chisellers or leeches. They may to some extent be getting a free ride on the backs of city taxpayers but they just can't be expected to see that without some very careful and tactful explanation.

The fact is, however, that suburbanitis is catching up with them. As the suburban population grows, wells and septic tanks become unsatisfactory. They need waterworks and sewer systems. The little towns and villages which a dozen years ago were run satisfactorily on an amateur or part-time basis, at low cost to the taxpayer, have become large towns and villages and have to pay for what they get at the same wages and prices as prevail in the neighboring city. The surge of war-

time babies now pouring into the lower grades of the schools has finally demonstrated the inadequacy of the school plant everywhere, and the town and village districts, like the city districts, are going to pay through the nose to make up for the building deficiencies of the last two decades.

Suburban taxes, real taxes—the rate times assessed valuation—have been for some time on the climb and are apparently destined to scramble up so fast that the differential the suburbs have enjoyed will soon be a thing of the past. The plight of the poorer suburbs which never had low taxes except at the sacrifice of needed services will be particularly forlorn in the years ahead. These are facts which can be demonstrated to any citizen with a grammar grade education.

Encourage Unity

The suburbanite usually feels, and often with justification, that his suburban government is more honest, efficient and responsive than that of the big city or the embracing county. To the extent that this is illusion it will be eliminated by the rising costs of the era on which we are all embarked. To the extent that the belief is well founded I can suggest no way out but the improvement of city and county government. A city which feels the need of integration in its metropolitan area must approach the matter with clean hands. Complete asepsis is rightfully demanded of those who would operate on a metropolitan community for suburbanitis.

Every incidental thing should be

done that can be done to encourage a sense of metropolitan unity. Community Chest, Red Cross, March of Dimes and other drives should be if possible on a county-wide basis, with full participation in the honors as well as the work for the suburbanites. Civic organizations, luncheon clubs, all manner of voluntary citizen activities, should also be on at least a county-wide basis. Obviously, Chamber of Commerce and Advertising Club publicity should at all times emphasize the idea of the greater city in whose pride and prosperity all can share. In other words, take the suburbanites into partnership. It often happens that many of the best and most active business and professional men of the city by day are suburbanites by night.

A Recent Problem

All this takes some doing but it can be done. It will take time but the world was not made in a day and the essential institutions of mankind, among which local government is rightly numbered, cannot be changed, unless by violence, in many many days of effort and debate. That is why democracy is the most stable of all forms of government. It makes superficial changes rapidly, it alters the course of its deeper currents very slowly indeed. We are here dealing with a change in the basic outline of local self-government. We should not be disheartened because a problem which emerged only 30 years ago has not been solved.

There has been a lot of nonsense talked about the optimism of youth and the pessimism of old age. Youth

is full of animal vigor which takes risks lightly but it is easily discouraged when hope is deferred. In old age personal hopes and ambitions may fail but faith in the future of a good cause grows stronger because progress can be measured against the perspective of a long distant past. It is now just 50 years since I was a senior at Harvard, getting my first bite of a course which dealt in part with local government. There were not then a dozen colleges in the country which thought the subject worth teaching at all. There was no textbook on American local government for student use. The proceedings of the National Municipal League's Conferences on Good City Government, then in their seventh year, contained most of the material in print on the subject.

At that time neither the commission nor the manager plan of government had been heard of. There was no such thing as a merit system for the employees of any city except those in New York and Massachusetts. Every change in party control made a clean sweep of city halls and courthouses. The word "budget" was only a recent importation from Europe, scarcely applicable to anything in the United States. Municipal accounting was concerned only with the inflow and outflow of cash in the sometimes vain attempt to keep the hands of politicians out of the till.

There was no such thing as a nonpartisan municipal ballot. In fact, there was no such thing as a well regulated partisan primary. Nominations for local office were

made by caucus and convention, in which the outsider or independent had no chance. There was scarcely a good registration system in the country. In close elections the names on the very tombstones were voted. There were no limitations on election expenditures, no restrictions on political contributions by city or county employees. Reform waves were always sporadic because reform candidates could be elected only by an effort too prodigious to be repeated frequently. In short, Bryce's dictum of thirteen years before, that municipal government was our "one conspicuous failure," was still true and accepted with fatalistic resignation by 99 per cent of those who should have been fighting for reform.

I have seen all this change. American politics is by no means spotless but let no one tell you that it is not incomparably cleaner, and American local government infinitely more honest and efficient than it was 50 years ago. When I was a senior at Harvard the subject we have been discussing today had not even been heard of except as it had already affected such great cities as London and New York. Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Birmingham, and a hundred other communities in which suburbanitis is acute today, were not even aware that there

could be such a disease. The conception of the greater city of tomorrow had not even dawned on the minds of dreamers. I am confident that as we have solved so many other problems of organization and procedure in local government, in spite of the intense opposition of the politicians and the deadening pessimism of the public, we shall in good time—not too far off—conquer suburbanitis.

AWAKE AT LAST—A BIT LATE (Continued from page 541)

whole earth. A large part of the confidence I feel in the future is based on the knowledge gained largely through my association with the National Municipal League that there are many thousands of Americans who care and work day in and day out on the civic front, recognizing such work as one of the essential parts of a whole and wholesome life. Since what we talk about as the end of World War II, the number of these citizens has increased steadily. Their victories in state and local civic battles have increased proportionately.

The recruiting station is open. The rolls of the civic army are never closed. The need and the opportunity are unlimited.

From Home Town and Back

Struggle for civic improvement takes leader over full cycle from community to state and return to community.

By BAYARD H. FAULKNER*

IN ONE sense this story is a personal one; in another it portrays the laziness, the grouching, the "what can I do about it" attitude of millions of citizens. More important it demonstrates their inherent capacity for interest in public matters and their ability, once stimulated, to contribute to one of the greatest of all purposes, the forwarding of the democratic ideal.

Perhaps, in true detective story fashion, the story should begin, in 1934, with the ringing of the telephone—the telephone of an average citizen, aged 39. He has been occupied with raising a family, with establishing himself in the social life of his community. He commutes to New York. His home town, Montclair, New Jersey, is his dormitory. Occupied during most of his daylight hours with business activities, he returns at night to dinner with his family, a "bull session" with his sons, a visit to the neighbors for bridge. The lawn and flowerbeds are tended on Saturday—Sunday to church and a sleepy afternoon.

Of public affairs he has but the vaguest knowledge. True he rants at the national administration for

this and that, knowing little of the vast economic and political problems facing the country in 1934.

His town is a suburb of a great city—its life affected for better and worse by the metropolis. Its people range from the very rich to the very poor. Essentially it is a conservative town but its orderly complacency is being disturbed by the changing times and the transition brings its problems—social, economic and political.

Of local politics he has heard of the bickering in town hall and is in a ferment at gossip that the politicians have made a deal to abolish the municipal garbage collection system and turn it over to the contractor friend of one of the town commissioners.

By and large, however, he is just an average citizen—no better, no worse, than millions of his contemporaries. But the telephone is ringing. The voice is that of a friend who bids him attend a meeting at his home. Inquiry elicits no further information as to the purpose of the meeting—"just come." Curiosity aroused, he enters his friend's home to find some 50 other average citizens assembled.

Discussion discloses a truly alarming condition in town affairs. For the first time the Hague machine is attempting to gain a stranglehold on the town's political life. The community is governed under the theo-

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retically nonpartisan commission form. The town fathers are divided into cliques. The wrangling and buck-passing is echoing far beyond the town's boundaries. The deal on garbage stinks more than the humble material which is its subject. The citizens that evening center their fire on the commissioner apostle of Frank Hague, but the other members get their fair share.

Under commission government administration of local affairs is divided up among the five commissioners. As a result there are five little independent governments with no one person over all. This tends to disunity and log-rolling, and encourages just such shenanigans as were now being witnessed in town hall. What to do?

Movement Takes Fire

A change to the council-manager plan is suggested which, if successful, would "turn the rascals out" and at the same time introduce a form of government which would at least tend to reduce the divisiveness of the existing system. The business men present recognize the appeal of the manager plan, closely paralleling as it does the organization of the modern corporation. No one is interested in returning to the old mayor-alderman setup of bygone days.

The movement inaugurated that evening quickly took fire. The Montclair Association was formed. Its membership grew from 50 to 700. Petitions were circulated, calling for a referendum on the manager plan in October 1934, and 6,000 signers were secured in short order.

Doorbells and telephones were rung all over that community. Tens of thousands of pieces of literature were distributed. But our opposition was strong and determined. The local newspaper laughed at us; both political parties joined to repel us, their common enemy. Labor unions actively opposed us. And perhaps our greatest stumbling block was our own inexperience in "political" affairs.

The big day came and with it the greatest outpouring of voters in the town's history except for that of the presidential election in 1932. Some 13,000 votes were cast and the manager plan lost by 267. But had we really lost?

Our little group met again. Most of the advice was to disband and lie low until another opportunity presented itself. With this majority view I held no truck. Our experience in the campaign had taught me one good lesson—that, if the average citizen is to cope with vested political interests, he must be alert at all times and not depend on the excitements of a particular campaign.

In the next few months we undertook a comprehensive study of the town budget, presenting the findings to the commission and the town. The affairs of the water bureau, torn by a major defalcation, gave us another opportunity for study and report.

And then along in late summer the telephone rang again. This time, however, it was a local party leader seeking an interview. That evening three gentlemen arrived and stated that, since the Montclair Association was showing such an interest in local politics, perhaps it and

they could get together at the next municipal election of commissioners. Our protest, or reform movement if you will, had come of age.

We weighed the proposal carefully. We knew that under state law we could not again propose the manager plan before the next municipal election. We were fearful that should we not acquiesce our new found party friends might be forced, against their wishes, back into an alliance with their normal opponents. We decided to take the plunge.

'Fifth Wheel' Burden

But who would run? It wasn't easy to find five men who could or would agree, if elected, to assume the burdens involved in managing the governmental machinery of a community of 40,000 people, who would expose themselves to the rigors of a hard campaign and the abuse which, unfortunately in America, is the inevitable concomitant of public office.

Four of our candidates, all named by our reform group, were elected in May 1936 along with the Hague apostle, much to our discomfort and dismay.

My associates and I on the commission were thoroughly versed in the theory of commission government. We knew how basically unsound it is. During the next four years we received one practical lesson after another on how it tends to defeat good government.

Almost immediately upon the commission's assuming office, the payroll of its minority commissioner's department began to rise and late in the summer he said that unless we gave him an additional

appropriation the functions of his department would be sharply curtailed. Other than to strip him of his administrative duties there is nothing under the New Jersey commission government act to prevent such conduct. A commissioner is king in his own bailiwick.

In 1938, the year of the great coastal storm, the department of public works asked this same individual for help in the emergency which faced the town. Virtually every street was blocked with fallen trees. Fire apparatus, police cars and ambulances were tied to their garages. An uncooperative response again left nothing for us to do about it but to make the recalcitrant a "minister without portfolio."

But inevitably there comes an end to the career of a public official who plays the Hague type of game. In 1940 we elected all of our ticket and were then able to devote ourselves to the all-important task of serving the community.

The place which Montclair occupies in local government is too well known to require further comment. Of two aspects I will speak, however:

First, we tried to make the commission form work as effectively as its basic limitations would permit. Our first move was to employ a former city manager as departmental coordinator—this in an effort to tie together the five loose ends which constitute commission government. Stuart M. Weaver is one of the most competent men in his field. He attained great success in this most difficult assignment. But always he met with the conscious or unconscious barriers of "separate" depart-

ments, the feeling that "this is our preserve" and "no trespassing allowed." The experiment was cut short by the war in which Mr. Weaver served.

Our next move was to create a management committee consisting of the operating heads of each department. This committee met weekly, reviewed common problems, prepared the agenda for the next meeting of the commission and in general attempted to overcome the provincialism inherent in commission government.

Both these experiments are probably unique. But neither can be a substitute for an organizational pattern which centers administrative responsibility in one person and under him coordinates all activities into a unified whole.

Secondly, I would emphasize our constant concern for what in my opinion is the greatest problem of democratic government, bringing the citizen and his officials into more intimate contact in order that each may know and share the other's views and problems.

Citizen Committees Active

Shortly after assuming office we asked a large group of citizens to organize themselves into a research committee to undertake a study of the municipal budget and report back any areas for improvement in efficiency or for elimination of unwanted services. For the first time in Montclair a public audit was invited. The books were open for all to see.

Suggestions for reductions in five of the town's services were made by

the research committee. The suggestions were summarized and mailed to every household with a return postcard for approval or disapproval of each. The response far exceeded expectations but the interesting result was majority opposition to the reductions. This was only the first of several postcard polls seeking citizen reaction on community affairs.

Literally hundreds of citizens were enrolled on advisory committees covering virtually every phase of town government. The high school was encouraged to inaugurate a plan for student study of municipal functions. Pamphlets on town finances were mailed with water bills. Every civic organization was urged to have a representative at commission meetings.

Notwithstanding all this effort we are not satisfied that the citizens in Montclair, or for that matter in most other towns and cities in this great country, are sufficiently aware of the problems of community living or of the responsibility which falls upon each resident to understand them and then wisely to delegate their solution to capable representatives who will act unselfishly in the interests of all.

One may well ask why the Montclair Association, over a period of twelve years, did not make another effort to install the manager plan. The answer is simple. In 1937, at the behest of the manager of a nearby city, the legislature changed the law to give managers in New Jersey tenure of office. The very essence of the manager plan is the maintenance of an employer-employee relationship between the gov-

erning body and its chief executive officer. When that relationship is disturbed, and either or both are hamstrung, the plan ceases to be effective. As a result there has been little recent use in New Jersey of this most modern governmental device. Certainly, the Montclair Association could not in good conscience advocate it.

But twelve years of service on Montclair's governing body was enough and I felt that the time had come to return to my family, my business and my farm. Regretfully I resigned, closing one of the most interesting and stimulating periods of my life. My family received the news very happily but, as I look back on it now, with some skepticism—a skepticism quite justified in the light of later events.

Local Government Study

During the incumbency of former Governor Charles Edison, and under his leadership, a movement had developed for a new state constitution. His successor, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, took up the cause and with his great enthusiasm succeeded in securing its adoption in 1947.

Fresh from this victory Governor Driscoll, commenting to the press on the sad state of affairs in commission-governed Hoboken, said that an investigation of operations under that form throughout the state might well be undertaken. Telegrams and letters from every direction suggested that such an investigation might go still further and cover the form and structure of all municipal government within the state.

A believer in the importance of strong local government, the governor saw this as a next logical step. In his message to the legislature in 1948 he urged such a study and a joint resolution, sponsored by senators from both parties, was passed. It provided for a commission of nine, five appointed by the governor and two members each from the Senate and Assembly.

And again the telephone, this time to inquire if I would undertake the chairmanship of such a commission. I was at it again after only a few months of surcease from the headaches, excitements and satisfactions of public office.

The new commission organized at once, employed Princeton Surveys as consultants and appointed an additional advisory staff of New Jersey experts in local government, including John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League. The preliminary report, made in November 1948, was designed to stimulate public discussion. The report to the legislature of 1949 followed but, in view of our condemnation of the commission form and the protests which immediately arose from officials in cities under that plan, the legislature decided to defer action and asked that we continue our studies for another year.

With the aid of many officials and the State League of Municipalities, a revised report was made early this year and, after some further but not crippling amendments by the legislature, the program became law on June 8.

As finally adopted, the Optional Charter Law of 1950 includes three

modern forms of government: (1) A strong mayor plan, (2) A council-manager plan (without tenure for the manager) and (3) A plan especially tailored for the small community.

Neither the commission nor the weak mayor form was included.

Aside from the new model optional charters, there are two other major aspects to this legislation.

Under the new constitution, New Jersey municipalities do not have home rule in the sense that each community may devise and adopt its own charter. Under this circumstance we chose a system of basic optional charters and then added provision for a wide number of variations in each, dealing primarily with choice as to the size of council, at large or ward and at large representation and, in the case of the strong mayor and small municipalities plans, choice of partisan or non-partisan elections. The wide choice of forms thus offered will cover the needs of virtually every community.

But to this broad choice of charters was added a far greater latitude in municipal powers than any heretofore enjoyed by New Jersey communities, this grant, however, confined to those adopting one of the new plans.

Most important is the provision governing the use of the law. In addition to the conventional method of citizen petition and referendum for adoption of a particular form of government, either the governing body or the citizenry by petition may call for a referendum on the question of whether a charter commission

shall be elected to study the local structure and recommend adoption of one of the optional charters or retention of the existing form. If change is recommended the voters pass upon the proposal at the next election.

Here is an opportunity for citizen action which any vested political interest finds difficult to oppose. We in New Jersey look forward to a revival of interest in local affairs through this simple and readily usable device.

Any such program must have broad citizen support. In this regard an extraordinary job was done by a statewide citizens committee which campaigned for two legislative sessions on behalf of the bills which gave effect to the program. The League of Women Voters, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Senior and Junior Chambers of Commerce and many more worked without stint for passage of the bills, often with reluctant legislators who were, naturally perhaps, opposed to any change of the status quo in their districts.

Montclair Takes Action

Shortly after passage of the bills, the Montclair town commission unanimously adopted a resolution placing the charter commission question on the ballot. Led initially by the League of Women Voters, a town-wide organization was formed to forward the idea of a study of the local government.

The referendum carried overwhelmingly at the November election

and Montclair is the first in New Jersey to undertake such a study. In this activity I am privileged to have a part. Once again there comes to me an opportunity for civic effort in my own home town.

And so the movement for a better town charter in Montclair, begun by a group of average citizens in 1934 and pursued unremittingly through the years, bears promise of fruition. The charter commission elected in Montclair is outstanding. Its members approach their work with complete objectivity, fully conscious of the importance of their task. Their findings will come in due course and I am convinced that there will emerge in Montclair a better pattern of community organization.

New Concern with Democracy

Thus a chapter closes—a cycle is completed. An average citizen, apathetic and ill informed, aroused at last to campaign for civic betterment, plunged, somewhat bewildered but determined, into local public office, moving thence to moulding opinion on municipal government at the state level and now back again to

the civic life of his own community.

Increasingly through the years, citizen interest has tended toward national and international affairs. It has been away from the purely local. But the tree can be no stronger than its roots and the soil from which they draw their nourishment. With the coming of World War II and the subsequent problems of dealing with totalitarian communism, we more fully appreciate our freedom and the need for guarding its foundations. Evidence is on every hand of a new concern with the processes of democracy.

It matters little at what point citizen interest and participation first begins—whether with the struggles of the United Nations, national problems, a new state constitution or with the day-to-day problems of local government. Inevitably that interest and participation widens and deepens.

For me these years have been as a fascinating journey. My greatest wish is that every American could know, as I have come to know, the richer, fuller life which flows from even the most humble public service.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Manager Places Pass Thousand Mark

Seven Adoptions One Repeal Voted at November Election

SEVEN council-manager adoptions on November 7, plus several other recent additions to the list, bring the total of manager communities to 1,003. The number has nearly doubled since 1940, when there were 526 council-manager communities.

The village of **Richfield, Minnesota**, (1950 population 17,415) adopted the state's optional village manager law on November 7. The vote was 3,822 to 1,038. The plan will go into effect January 1, 1951.

Two communities in **Michigan** adopted council-manager charters on November 7, **Holland** (1940 population 14,616) and **Cheboygan** (5,673). Both had turned down similar charters on June 26.

Chanute, Kansas, (10,241) adopted the council-manager plan at the polls on November 7. The voters had rejected a similar proposal on October 10 by 33 votes.

The town of **Wilmington, Massachusetts**, (4,645) voted on November 7 to adopt a town manager (or "select-man-manager") plan, 1,041 to 750.

A county manager charter for **Santa Clara County, California**, (174,949) was approved by the voters on November 7 by an overwhelming majority.¹

Fairfax County, Virginia, (40,929) voted on November 7 to change to a county executive form of government.¹

Two cities in Virginia—**Pulaski**

(8,792) and **Luray** (1,511)—adopted the council-manager plan a year or more ago.

The city council of **Hanford, California** (8,234), voted on September 11 to install the city manager form of government, the action to become effective in 30 days.

Alamogordo, New Mexico, (6,767) adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

Wray, Colorado, (2,061) recently adopted a council-manager charter.

Osborne, Pennsylvania, (529) dropped from the official list of manager cities early this year, has been restored.

Greenville, South Carolina, voted for the council-manager plan on November 7 in an advisory referendum.

Voters of **Halifax, Nova Scotia**, (70,488) at a referendum on October 25 approved the council-manager plan, 3,718 to 2,223. It is understood that this is not conclusive but that further action by the city council is necessary.

In **Brookline, Massachusetts**, the seven-member committee appointed at the last annual town meeting to investigate the town manager plan, held a public hearing for discussion of the plan on October 30.

Three charter amendments in **Niagara Falls, New York**, giving the city manager power to appoint and dismiss city employees without council approval, prohibiting council interference with his discharge of duties, and giving him 30 days for a hearing before possible dismissal, were approved by the voters on November 7.

The township committee of **Bridge-water, New Jersey**, has established a charter commission which is studying forms of government, with special attention to the council-manager plan.

¹See also page 567, this issue.

Laurinburg, North Carolina, which has had a city manager since 1947, is expected soon to have a referendum election on the manager plan, as doubt has been cast on the power of the council to appoint a manager under the charter.

A council-manager charter was defeated in **Mansfield, Ohio**, on November 7 by a vote of 11,123 to 4,970. Distribution by the county board of elections of an attack upon the charter on October 24 had been protested by the Citizens' Committee for Council-Manager Government.

Newport, Kentucky, voted on November 7 to retain its manager plan, 5,463 to 2,310.

In **Michigan** the cities of **Grosse Pointe Park** and **Grosse Pointe Woods**, the residents of which, former villages, voted this year to incorporate as cities, will vote on December 11 on the question of adopting council-manager charters. **Grosse Pointe Park**, as a village, has had the manager plan since 1942.

The Manufacturers and Employers Association of **Springfield, Illinois**, proposes that the city commission appoint a city manager, with authority to streamline the operation of all municipal departments. It claims that the commission has the power to make such an appointment—despite the refusal of the Illinois legislature to authorize cities to adopt the council-manager plan.

In **Madison, Wisconsin**, the existing council-manager plan was voted out on November 7, 15,803 to 13,305. The city reverts to the mayor-council plan.

On October 19 the city commission of **Fort Scott, Kansas**, refused to call a referendum election on the question of adopting the manager plan. The Junior Chamber of Commerce had filed a petition of 1,233 names calling for such an election, but the city clerk

eliminated 445 names as not corresponding exactly with the list of registered voters. This left the petition with 405 less than the legal requirement of 25 per cent of the last vote for mayor. The city commission therefore called the petition insufficient.

The **Topeka, Kansas**, *State Journal* advocates the manager plan for that city.

Omaha, Nebraska, rejected a proposed council-manager plan on November 7 by a vote of 54,992 to 24,313.

A council-manager plan for **Columbus, Nebraska**, was defeated on October 31 by a vote of 1,885 to 505. Imperial defeated the plan, 233 to 121, on November 7.

The city council of **Tonkawa, Oklahoma**, has set December 19 as the date for a special election on adopting the council-manager plan. A petition of 464 names, asking for an election, had been filed.

A council-manager charter is in process of preparation in **Sand Springs, Oklahoma**.

The scheduled November 25 referendum in **Nampa, Idaho**, on adoption of the council-manager plan, has been attacked in the courts. The city attorney questioned the petitions for the election on the score that they were held together with Scotch tape, with names added and deleted. A sponsor of the petitions asserted that "the law does not bar Scotch tape, staples, mucilage, string or baling wire, if necessary, in compiling a petition"; that names had been deleted after comparison with the registration list; and that the petition contained the necessary valid signatures. He denied the charge that the manager movement was associated with the "liquor interests."

Albany, Oregon, voted November

7 to retain the council-manager plan, 1,795 to 1,732.

The city council of **Santa Paula, California**, has established by resolution the office of administrative officer and has invited applications for the new position. Under the resolution the new administrative officer shall head all departments of the city, act as purchasing agent and serve in a general administrative and coordinating capacity, responsible to the city council; he will have limited powers to hire and fire. The city council of **Los Banos**, in the same state, has been considering similar action.

Voters Pass on 164 State Proposals

At the November elections the voters in 34 states were faced with proposed constitutional amendments, initiative propositions and referenda totaling 164. The number of proposed amendments reached 24 in Louisiana—a smaller number than usual in that state, however.

One outstanding result was the defeat in Georgia of a proposal to extend to general elections the county unit voting system now in use for primary elections. Under this plan no county, regardless of population, would be entitled to more than six votes in deciding the election and each county, no matter how small, would have at least two votes. The plan was urged by Governor Herman Talmadge but was denounced as grossly unfair and undemocratic by various civic organizations, individuals and newspapers.

South Carolina voted about four to one to abolish its poll tax, thus leaving only six states with such tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The tax was adopted in South Carolina in 1865 and was written into the state consti-

tution 30 years later. Its repeal was urged by Governor J. Strom Thurmond and various other political leaders.

In Illinois the "Gateway Amendment" to reduce the obstacles to future constitutional amendment, was approved at the November 7 election. An overwhelming majority of those voting on the amendment were in the affirmative; and because of the intensive campaign in its favor, the necessary majority of all votes cast at the election (an almost insurmountable requirement which this amendment will obviate) was finally achieved.

The so-called "balanced plan" for legislative reapportionment in Oregon was defeated on November 7 by a vote of 208,224 to 175,431. It would have done away with the present constitutional requirement of apportionment on a population basis (the further requirement of decennial reapportionment has been ignored since 1910) in favor of a combination of area and population as a reapportionment basis, thus giving the sparsely settled counties even more political advantage than they have now.

Colorado voters on November 7 adopted two constitutional amendments and rejected one proposed amendment. One of those adopted facilitates revision of home rule charters by permitting the council of any home rule city to submit charter amendments or other measures to vote of the people; this has heretofore been possible only by petition. This amendment also permits the city council of Denver to determine salaries of municipal officers by ordinance, within limits set by the charter; the latter now specifies the exact salaries.

The other adopted amendment provides for annual sessions of the state legislature, instead of biennial as at present; the sessions in even-num-

bered years are to be limited chiefly to revenue and appropriation bills, thus permitting an annual state budget. It also permits the legislature to provide a method for filling vacancies therein, the present method being only by new elections called by the governor. It contains various other provisions intended to improve the procedure and practices of the legislature.

The proposed amendment that lost would have removed heads of administrative departments from civil service, as is the case in other states; it would also have established various other exemptions and instituted a more flexible civil service system.

A Louisiana constitutional amendment providing home rule for New Orleans has evidently been adopted, although complete figures are not yet available. Thus far the vote is 145,436 for, 63,241 against in 1,603 precincts out of a state total of 2,092. The amendment establishes the city's present charter as its home rule charter, prohibits any subsequent legislature from amending it, and provides methods by which the city council or the voters may propose amendments or new charters.¹

In Utah an increase in legislators' salaries from \$300 to \$500 a year, plus \$5 a day for expenses at sessions, was authorized. The voters also approved an amendment placing general control of the state's public education system under an elective board and making the state superintendent of public instruction appointive instead of elective.

Arizona defeated proposals to increase old-age assistance, to end segregation in schools and to establish local option prohibition of liquor.

Arkansas voted down a proposal for statewide prohibition of manufacture, sale or transportation of liquor, or the

possession of more than one quart. Half the state is now dry, under local option. Oregon defeated a ban on the sale of "promotively advertised" liquor.

Maryland voted to retain the Ober Act, a strict anti-subversive measure requiring a loyalty oath of state officeholders. Michigan adopted a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to outlaw advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government.

Michigan also increased its residential requirements for voting from 20 days to 30 in the voting precinct and legalized the sale of yellow oleomargarine.

Oklahoma voters decisively refused to put that state on record as favoring the principle of world government.

Rhode Island adopted a proposal to give voting privileges to the Narragansett Indians; Idaho voted heavily in favor of full citizenship for its Indians.

Maryland Votes for Constitution Convention

Voters of the state of Maryland, on November 7, expressed themselves overwhelmingly in favor of a convention to draft a new constitution. Incomplete returns report 202,088 for, 55,829 against.

Next move must be made by the legislature, which will meet in January. It is expected that the Legislative Council will shortly draft proposed legislation to provide for the election of the convention.

Two States Turn Down Constitution Conventions

Voters of both Oklahoma and Iowa turned down ballot proposals on November 7 for constitutional conventions.

The Oklahoma convention question was one of five on the ballot, all

¹See the REVIEW, September 1950, page 400.

turned down decisively by the voters. Vote on the proposal was 347,143 to 159,908. Opposition to the change was based on the expense involved, fear of change, many pressure groups, and the cry that now is not the time to make drastic changes. The Citizens Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention spearheaded the campaign, aided by the League of Women Voters, State Parent-Teachers Association and various civic groups. Opposition came from the CIO, AFL, Farmers Union, United Drys and many of the politicians interested in the preservation of Oklahoma's long ballot.

In the ten times the question has been submitted in Iowa—the constitution calls for it to be placed on the ballot every ten years—the voters approved only once, in 1920. At that time, however, no convention was held since the legislature could reach no decision as to how delegates should be chosen, the constitution not being very specific about the matter.

No Constitutional Convention for Louisiana

A call for a constitutional convention in Louisiana has been repealed by a special session of the legislature. It is reported that the principal issues that led to the repeal of the call include: (1) the method of selecting the delegates and opposition to the number of appointed and ex-officio delegates; (2) objection to a proposal to extend the terms of present officeholders; and (3) a proposal for final adoption of the constitution by the convention instead of by submitting it to the people.

Hawaiians Approve Proposed Constitution

Voters in the Hawaiian Islands on November 7 approved, 83,154 to 27,260, the draft of a proposed state

constitution prepared by the recent constitutional convention.¹ The document now goes to Congress and the president for action.

Western Governors Would Extend Interstate Cooperation

The annual Western Governors' Conference, meeting in Denver November 10 and 11, approved unanimously a plan to establish a regional council that would supervise the interchange among states and territories of graduate students in medicine, dentistry, public health, etc., so as to use existing graduate schools in these subjects to the best advantage, without wasteful duplication, and to improve such specialized educational facilities in the region. A draft of an interstate compact was approved; it goes to the various legislatures for ratification. A similar plan has been in effect in the southeast for two years.

The conference also approved, subject to ratification by the state legislatures, a draft of a compact to establish a Western Regional Youth Commission that would set up and operate an institution for confinement and treatment of mentally defective or psychopathic juvenile offenders.

The Western Interstate Committee on Institutional Care formulated the plan in the course of two years of study, in view of inadequate regional facilities for juvenile care and the need to avoid wasteful duplication.

Two other compacts were submitted for ratification to the legislatures of four of the western states—Nevada, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming—for regional pooling of resources in the education and training of the deaf and the blind. Two existing institutions, in Idaho and Utah, each dealing with deaf and blind persons, would

¹See the REVIEW, September 1950, pages 375-382; 405.

be converted into separate schools for the deaf and the blind, respectively, to serve all four states.

St. Paul Abandons Single Education Head

The voters of St. Paul, Minnesota, have approved a charter amendment replacing the commissioner of education by an elective non-salaried school board. The city departments will supply the board's requirements for purchasing, civil service, legal advice and general accounting. The board is to present its own budget to the city comptroller and then to the city council, subject to the same procedures as those of the departments. The amendment also provides for a substantial increase in revenue for school and other civic purposes; a supplementary budget prepared for 1951 is \$1,460,184 over the previously adopted budget, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

League of Alaskan Cities Is Formed

With a complete constitution and quota of officers, the League of Alaskan Cities has come into being, following a meeting of Alaskan city officials in Anchorage, August 28-31. Officials of southwest Alaska cities had met previously but this was the first meeting of officials from the entire territory. President of the league is Mayor Z. J. Loussac of Anchorage; executive secretary, City Manager Robert E. Sharp of the same city. The trustees come from Nome, Fairbanks, Juneau, Seward and Cordova. The Nome delegate had to travel 536 miles to attend; the Juneau delegate 573 miles—both by air. The University of Alaska (near Fairbanks) has promised cooperation with the league.

Oregon League Observes Silver Anniversary

The League of Oregon Cities celebrated its 25th anniversary at its convention in Portland, November 13-15.

Employee Reclassification Urged for Chicago

The Chicago Civil Service Commission has recommended a reclassification of all positions in the classified civil service of that city, based on a study undertaken in 1948 by a small staff of personnel specialists aided by over 100 city employees. The number of titles would be reduced from about 1,400 to 851; but most of the present employees would not be affected and a minimum of administrative detail would be involved. The greatest duplication and overlapping has existed in the clerical, accounting and administrative services; here 250 titles would shrink to 63.

The present classification of positions has remained virtually static for a generation or more, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

International Town Planners Urge Control of Land Use

The Twentieth Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning adopted a resolution by F. J. Osborn, British town planner, which "urges upon governments and public opinion in all countries the vital importance of a clear policy and adequate legislation for the planning of the use of land in urban and rural regions, which is now proved to be necessary for the maintenance and improvement of housing standards and social and economic efficiency, the provision of sufficient open space for health and recreation, the good relationship between towns and the agricultural countryside, and the avoidance

(Continued on page 580)

Fairfax, Santa Clara Approve Charters

Three Other Counties Lose Their Battles for Home Rule

TWO of five counties voting November 7 on new charters secured victories at the polls—Fairfax County, Virginia, and Santa Clara County, California.

In one of the most heated election campaigns ever experienced in Fairfax County the voters decided to (1) adopt an optional home rule charter and (2) adopt the executive rather than the manager form. The vote, largest ever cast in the county, was 5,289 to 3,534 on the first issue and 5,210 to 3,502 in favor of the executive as opposed to the manager plan.

Under the executive plan, the six supervisors will be elected by districts instead of at large as provided under the manager plan. The appointive executive will have power only to recommend appointments and dismissals whereas the appointive manager would have had full power in these matters. Both plans provide for a finance department under the executive to replace the abolished elective treasurer and internal revenue commission.

Civic groups had organized to sponsor each plan for this fast-growing county suburban to Washington, D. C. Those favoring the executive plan called themselves the Fairfax County League of Citizens Favoring County Executive Form of County Government and accused the manager supporters of being a "gang or pressure group" bent on controlling the county through a "county manager office boy." The

manager plan had the support of the League of Women Voters as well as other civic groups in the county.

The day after the election the Fairfax County board of supervisors adopted a resolution to appoint a commission of seven to study the details and technicalities of the transition to the new form of government. It has been urged that representatives of the groups advocating the two optional charters, as well as those familiar with the present plan, be placed on this commission.

The new charter will take effect in January 1952 after election of the board of supervisors in November 1951.

The same optional charter was voted on by Loudoun County, Virginia, but failed, 2,226 to 729.

Voters of Santa Clara County, California, adopted a council-manager charter on November 7 by the overwhelming vote of 46,220 to 17,322. As previously stated in this section,¹ its home rule manager charter adopted in 1948 was subsequently held invalid by the lower courts of the state. Charter proponents promptly appealed and almost simultaneously initiated action to reelect the charter board that had drafted the 1948 document in the event that the lower court decision was sustained. The board was reelected in June and again drafted a manager charter. Shortly before the November election, however, the State Appellate Court reversed the lower court and upheld the validity of the

¹See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 187; January 1950, page 42; September 1950, page 408; and November 1950, page 513.

1948 charter. The Supreme Court has been asked to affirm the decision.

The voters, however, were given a second opportunity to vote on the manager plan they had approved in 1948 and they again endorsed the manager plan, this time by a ratio of over two to one.

In Merced County, California, the proposed manager home rule charter drafted by an elected board of freeholders was defeated by a vote of three to one. The charter would have provided a board of supervisors of seven who would appoint a chief administrative officer, the latter to name all appointive officials.

Unofficial returns in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, indicate defeat of the proposed new county charter, voted on November 7, by a vote of 223,858 to 205,344. This charter provided for an elective county mayor and a county commission of nine having full legislative powers with authority to reorganize county offices. All other elective officers were abolished excepting the prosecutor. The county was given municipal powers over a number of services.

In Prince George's County, Maryland, the long dominant Democratic party was turned out of office in a surprise upset. In the campaign, the victorious Republicans had claimed that the incumbents blocked good government such as that enjoyed under the manager plan in the neighboring county of Montgomery.

King County Chooses Charter Commission

On November 7 King County, Washington, voters elected a board of freeholders to draft a new county charter. The board of fifteen members, chosen from 93 candidates, represents the slate of the Seattle Municipal League, which led the fight for

county home rule. Ten of those chosen served on an unofficial advisory charter commission which has been working on a proposed charter for submission to the official board. This unofficial group has announced its proposal will include a nine-man board of county commissioners which will appoint a county administrator.

Baltimore County Charter Petition Dropped

The Baltimore County, Maryland, Charter Petition Committee, appointed by the county commissioners last spring, recently discontinued its efforts when it became apparent that the requisite 10,000 signatures would not be secured in time to place the question of a home rule charter board on the November 7 ballot. The committee decided that a preliminary educational program was necessary to acquaint the voters with the advantages of a home rule charter. Such a program will be begun in 1951 and a renewed attempt to place the question on the ballot will be made in 1952.

Petroleum County's Manager Plan Basis of Case Study

The Agricultural Experiment Station of Montana State College recently issued a report *County Manager Government in Montana, Presenting a Case Study of Petroleum County*,¹ which reviews the history of the county during the past eight years under the manager form of government. The report concludes that:

1. Consolidation of offices can effect savings in administrative costs,
2. Time and expense of county commissioners can be conserved by turning details over to the manager,
3. Capital expenditures can be reduced by placing control at a central point, as with the manager or in

¹Twelve pages, mimeographed.

some instances with the board of commissioners, and

4. The problem of responsiveness of the manager to the wishes of the people depends upon the nature of persons selected to fill the office.

County Managers Meet in Maryland

The County Managers' Section of the International City Managers Association held a one-day meeting at Montgomery County Court House, Rockville, Maryland, recently at which eleven county executives were present. Civil defense was the chief topic of discussion. It was decided to encourage maximum attendance at the annual conventions of the association.

Committees Cooperate on City-County Consolidation

The Bernalillo County, New Mexico, commissioners have appointed a committee of three, consisting of two commissioners and the county manager, to cooperate with a similar committee appointed by the city council of Albuquerque to draft a plan of city-county consolidation.

Milwaukee County Welfare Department Studied

A study of the Milwaukee County welfare department by the Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin reveals weaknesses in general relief operations. The study, made on request of four tax groups in the county, showed lack of adequate preliminary and continued investigation, discrepancies and omissions in case histories on file and little evidence of a program for rehabilitating the indigent.

Among the 391 sample cases studied were found instances of relief recipients owning television receivers, telephones and property in another state. Money received in relief grants was

permitting some persons to buy their own homes and persons on relief for years owned automobiles for which they had current licenses. Some relief recipients had not received home visits from welfare workers for more than a year.

A general tightening up of investigation procedures was recommended in the study including:

1. Continuous reapplication and re-examination of persons receiving general relief,

2. Routine and detailed checks at all possible sources to determine accuracy of applicants' statements,

3. Granting of relief only upon a person's certified physical inability to obtain private employment or upon compliance with weekly registration with the Wisconsin State Employment Service,

4. Requiring recipients of general relief to justify expenditures and re-appraising welfare budgets to follow the principle that the cost per person in a large family is less than in a small family,

5. Attaching penalties to misuse of relief grants,

6. A reexamination of the county work program and the policy of supplementing private income with relief grants.

Comprehensive Study of County Government Issued

County Government Across the Nation is the most comprehensive study of American county government that has been published to date.¹ It was compiled under the editorship of Paul W. Wager, professor of political science at the University of North Carolina and former editor of the County and Township section of the REVIEW.

(Continued on page 580)

¹For a review of this volume see page 581, this issue.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

City Finances Show Moderating Trend

Increases for 1949 Over 1948 Less Than Other Postwar Years

FINANCIAL transactions of the nation's 397 cities of over 25,000 population showed in 1949 generally moderating influences at work to pare down the large year-to-year increases evident in the postwar period, according to preliminary data released by the Bureau of the Census.¹ Significant exceptions were marked increases in debt and capital outlays which reflected progress in postwar improvement programs as labor and materials became more plentiful.

General revenues of the 397 cities in 1949² totaled \$4,037,000,000, an increase of 7.5 per cent over 1948 compared with increases of roundly 13 per cent for each of the two preceding years. General expenditures, including capital outlays financed with borrowed money as well as from current income, amounted to \$4,507,000,000, 11.2 per cent above 1948. The corresponding 1948 figure had been about 16 per cent above 1947, which in turn had risen roundly 18 per cent above 1946. General expenditures for operating purposes only for 1949 were \$3,099,000,000, the 1949 increase over the prior year standing at 8.6 per cent compared with increases of 12.8 per

cent and 17.2 per cent respectively for 1948 and 1947.

Not only were the increases in revenues and expenditures generally less percentagewise than in the preceding postwar fiscal periods, but they were also less in dollar amount. The situation was otherwise with respect to debt and capital outlays. The general purpose gross debt, which had declined from \$4,599,000,000 in 1942 to a postwar low of \$3,675,000,000 in 1946 and then risen 1.3 per cent in 1947 and 3.8 per cent in 1948, rose 6.7 per cent in 1949 to \$4,124,000,000, roundly \$260,000,000 above the 1948 figure. Capital outlays for 1949 totaled \$674,000,000. The percentage increase over the prior year was 44 per cent compared with 47 per cent and 89 per cent for the two preceding periods, but the dollar increase at \$207,000,000 compared with increases of roundly \$150,000,000 in each of the two prior years and \$77,000,000 in 1946.

Also evident in 1949 was a continuing trend toward lessened dependence on the general property tax. As compared with the 7.5 per cent increase in all general revenues, property tax revenues were up only 4.7 per cent over 1948. The increase in property tax revenues since 1942, when they represented roundly 65 per cent of all general revenues, was only 27.8 per cent compared with a rise of 55.4 per cent in all general revenues, and consequently property taxes accounted for only 53.4 per cent of 1949 general revenues.

¹Summary of City Government Finances in 1949. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., October, 1950, 12 pp., tables.

²Fiscal years ending between February 1, 1949, and January 31, 1950. For 224 cities the fiscal year was calendar 1949, and only 18 closed their fiscal year in January 1950.

Election Proposals Meet Varied Fate

The usual assortment of measures and propositions submitted to state and local voters on November 7 met a

varied fate, the only clearly discernible trend from early returns being that 1950 was a poor year to legalize gambling. The electorate in four states turned down measures proposing legal gambling as revenue measures: Arizona, California, Massachusetts and Montana.

The Massachusetts proposal was to establish a state lottery and was intended to finance additions to old-age benefit payments. The proposal for higher old-age payments apparently was approved, leaving unsolved the means of financing an estimated increase from about \$33,000,000 annually to \$87,000,000. In Washington a proposal to raise the old-age pension payments from \$60 to \$65 was defeated.

Other general fiscal measures submitted included a California constitutional amendment to abolish the ad valorem taxation of personal property, decisively defeated, and the abolition of the South Carolina poll tax, approved by a large majority. There now remain six poll tax states: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

New bond authorizations sought at the state and local level had been estimated to approach the one billion dollar mark, with prospects that the approvals would be considerably below the one and a half billion approved in 1949, when state veterans' bonus issues dominated the picture, including \$500,000,000 Pennsylvania soldiers' bonus bonds. The largest authorization sought this year was \$140,000,000 by Louisiana for various highway and related improvements. Voters turned it down. In West Virginia voters approved by a large majority \$90,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds, while in Oregon \$75,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds apparently carried by a small margin. Washington voters approved \$80,000,000 bonds, half for state educational

institution buildings and half for aid in local school construction. Michigan voters approved issuance of \$65,000,000 bonds for state mental hospitals, and Montana voters approved \$22,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds and a two-cents per pack cigarette tax to repay it.

At the local level, largest approval was by Baltimore voters, who favored \$36,000,000 bonds for various local purposes, including \$22,500,000 for water improvements. Cincinnati voters authorized \$32,000,000 new bonds, including \$16,000,000 for streets. Austin, Texas, voters passed issues totaling \$19,893,000, including \$10,000,000 for schools, and Long Beach, California, authorized \$19,798,000 school district bonds. Another large school approval was given by the voters of Akron, Ohio, who authorized \$13,465,000 school bonds, and San Diego, California, voters authorized \$11,806,000 school district bonds and \$875,000 building bonds. Louisville, Kentucky, approved \$13,350,000 bonds for various purposes, and Philadelphia voters approved issues totaling \$14,850,000, defeating \$1,000,000. The Philadelphia approvals included \$7,250,000 for subways, the defeated issue was for trackless trolleys.

Among the larger local issues submitted and not approved, according to early returns, were \$32,350,000 Seattle bonds, including \$25,850,000 electric revenue bonds to finance purchase of the properties of the privately owned electric system which competes with the city light department. The city had in 1943 announced its intention to take over all the electric business in the city by 1952, when the company's franchise expires, and negotiations for purchase of the company properties had already been satisfactorily completed, with approval of the bonds regarded as routine. An anti-bond issue

trend apparently accounted for its defeat.

Higher Debt, Lower Interest Cost

A frequent observation in recent years, as many local government units raised their bonded debt to successive peaks by postwar borrowing, has been that prevailing low interest rates permit the servicing of a higher debt without a proportionate increase in interest expense. A concrete illustration is the Los Angeles city school system, which is actually paying less interest now than it did in the mid-1930s when bonded debt was nearly two-fifths lower.

The Los Angeles city school system is administered by three separate school districts having a common board of education. Their combined bonded debt for elementary, high and junior college purposes was increased by borrowing in the 1920s and early 1930s to a pre-World War II peak of \$74,202,000 at June 30, 1936. The interest cost on this debt amounted to \$3,408,000 in fiscal 1936-37 and decreasing annual amounts thereafter.

The three districts did no borrowing from 1936 until 1946, when they started issuance in installments of \$75,000,000 bonds voted for postwar improvements. By this time the bonded debt of the system had been reduced to \$48,836,000 but the new borrowing pushed the funded debt to successive new peaks and, with completion of the postwar financing in fiscal 1949-50, the combined bonded debt of the districts stood at \$101,511,000 at June 30, 1950. The interest cost on this peak debt is \$3,047,000 for fiscal 1950-51 and lesser amounts each year hereafter.

Thus, while bonded debt in 1950 stands 37 per cent higher than in 1936,

the peak interest cost to service the debt is 11 per cent lower than the highest annual interest expense needed to service the 1936 debt.

The lower interest expense involved in servicing the higher postwar debt of the system mainly reflects the lower interest rates now prevailing but it is due in part also to recent use of bonds maturing within 30 years compared with a use in the 1920s of 40-year bonds. All bonds have been serials, so that the potential savings in shorter terms to maturity and lower interest rates have been fully realized. Thus, where the cumulative interest cost to final maturity on the 1936 debt was roundly \$45,390,000, the total interest to final maturity on the 1950 debt will be \$27,862,000, or 39 per cent less.

The shorter term to final maturity on the present debt necessitates, of course, faster retirement of principal and proportionately larger annual principal maturities than obtained following 1936. Where in fiscal 1936-37 principal maturities were \$2,945,000, and the total charge for interest and principal came to \$6,353,000, principal maturities for 1950-51 total \$5,146,000 and combined interest and principal amount to \$8,193,000.

Some of the postwar improvement bonds had their initial maturities deferred several years, so that the highest annual maturity occurs in fiscal 1952-53, when principal maturities are \$5,883,000 and interest and principal will total \$8,533,000. Thereafter the annual total will decline and in ten years reach the 1936-37 level.

Thus, the Los Angeles schools have prudently accepted immediately higher total annual budget charges for their school debt in order to minimize the interest cost of their large postwar improvement program.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

New Boston Committee Off to Good Start

*Initiated by Young People,
Civic Leaders Cooperating*

A NEW NBC has appeared on the horizon—the New Boston Committee. Inspired by the accomplishments of “Students with John B. Hynes for Better Government,” who worked for Mayor Hynes’s election in November 1949, a group of young people, led by Jerome Rappaport, met early in January of this year to consider formation of a permanent organization to promote active citizenship and good government in the home town.

After consultation with local civic leaders and numerous meetings at which various problems were discussed, the young people called a rally for May 7 which was addressed by a half dozen of the young leaders and by Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League. The 800 who attended that meeting agreed that the city needed a dynamic and representative citizens’ committee to foster a “new spirit” and to realize upon the opportunity for better government offered by the Plan A charter change.¹

Objectives of the New Boston Committee, born that night, were defined: To promote honest and efficient government, to spread understanding of the city’s problems, to induce citizens to take an active interest in the solution of its problems, to encourage qualified citizens to seek election to public office in the city and to aid in their

election, and generally to further the city’s best interests.

Realizing that they alone could not achieve these ambitious goals, the young people issued invitations to some 250 distinguished citizens from various fields of endeavor and representing every one of Boston’s wards, inviting them to take their place with NBC. With less than a week’s notice 110 persons met to discuss the organization, 40 others announcing their approval though not able to be present. These “elder statesmen” approved heartily of the NBC idea and discussed their place as a civic council in the structure of the organization. Almost unanimously they supported the views of such leaders as Henry L. Shattuck, former member of the city council and of the Massachusetts legislature, and John Horan, president of the Boston CIO Council. Mr. Shattuck commented that “previous civic organizations failed because they did not represent all the people. This committee must be effective in its representation of the people and to be effective it must endorse and support candidates for the city council.” Said Mr. Horan: “We need an effective organization—and an effective organization is one that can elect men who meet its ideals.”

The recently adopted constitution of the committee provides for a governing board of directors of seventeen members including the executive director, four councillors at large, four ward councillors and two organization councillors. This board is chosen by the Civic Council of 250 members made up as follows: 110 are chosen by the council itself for staggered six-year terms, another 110 are selected, five from each of the city’s 22 wards,

¹See the REVIEW, December 1949, page 558.

for two-year terms by organization members in those wards, and 30 councillors are appointed by organizations active in Boston civic affairs. First annual meeting of the 250-member civic council was scheduled for November 28, at which time permanent officers were elected. Meanwhile, the New Boston Committee has been operating with temporary officers led by Dan Ahern, Jr., chairman, and Mr. Rappaport, executive secretary.

Dues are two dollars per year. This amount was selected as sufficient to show good faith, to provide for a large portion of the expenses, and yet not so high as to discourage memberships. Plans are under way to secure additional funds.

Projects for the new organization include: (1) an NBC Day which will set the wheels in motion for a campaign in support of candidates for the next Boston election; (2) organization of campus groups to work for good government. Both these activities are the creations of the NBC planning board of the young voters group.

During the summer months a series of lectures, "Inside Boston," was attended by an aggregate of some 600 persons, who heard talks on business, education, the city government, news-coverage and political organization in Boston. Eight research committees operated during the summer, whose reports are now coming in. One of the first reports dealt with taxation, devoting particular attention to Boston's assessing department, declared to be inefficient, overstaffed, operated on antiquated restrictions with its clerical processes wasteful.

"The Jubilee is not the only new thing on the Boston horizon," says the *Boston Herald*. "A group of young people, astonishing both for its number and variety of political outlooks, has banded together for the an-

nounced purpose of rallying some real civic spirit in the city. And it looks as if the Hub politics might be in for a little 'clean-up paint-up' treatment too. . . . Workers in the cause include six young Boston legislators of various political persuasions, leaders of the C. I. O. and A. F. L., a smattering of Plan E workers, some League of Women Voters people, the head of the Municipal Research Bureau and spokesmen of the Young Democrats and Republican 21 clubs, to name only a few."

What the Schools Are Doing in Civic Education

"Are we teaching citizenship effectively?" asks the *Seattle Municipal News*. On the evidence, says the *News*, answering its own question, "Schools are doing a whale of a better job in exposing their pupils to United States history, civics, citizenship and the values of democracy in a more vital manner than ever before."

Evidence to sustain this statement, from Seattle and elsewhere, is being gathered by the Public Schools Committee of the Seattle Municipal League, which is now engaged in an appraisal of the teaching of citizenship in the local school system. Its *News* is publishing a series of articles on the subject.

By the People—Activities for a Program in Civic Education (trial edition) is a section of *A Teachers' Civic Education Handbook* to be published by the Civic Education Project conducted by the Educational Research Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Its purpose is "to list and describe things for pupils to do which will help them now and later to behave as good citizens behave." Two other 1950 publications of the project, prepared for classroom use, are *Work Without Strike*, "How Strikes damage us all, how they have become less violent, and

now they may sometimes be avoided," and *The Isms and You*, "How the isms threaten our democracy—and what can be done about it."

The Citizenship Education Project being conducted at Columbia University under a grant of funds from the Carnegie Corporation has begun publication of its *CEP News*. The first issue describes its August conference¹ and recites "The Story of CEP to Date."

Roy E. Larsen, president of *Time, Inc.*, is author of an article, "How to Have Better Schools," describing the work of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, in *This Week Magazine*. Mr. Larsen is chairman of the commission.

In Toledo, where the city is doing an excellent piece of work in educating its young people in civic affairs, a Youth Government for a Day was staged as part of the celebration attending the opening of the city's new Union Station. Students of the ten high schools and academies supplied the officeholders from their student councils, school delegates selecting councilmen, city manager, departmental and division heads, judges and other local officials. "The success of the program," reports the *Toledo City Journal*, "resulted in the suggestion by Mayor DiSalle that the establishment of a youth government should be carried on each year probably in connection with the high school seminar for the study of local government now being undertaken for the third year."

An increasing number of public schools are emphasizing city planning activity in their curricula. A survey by the Chicago Planning Advisory Board, of city planning courses and other

planning activity in the schools of cities over 100,000, shows that 31 cities include some city planning courses in their studies. Others report that attention is being given the subject or will be in the near future.

From the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools (2 West 45th Street, New York 19) comes *What Do We Know About Our Schools?* (34 pages). Discussed are citizens' committees and how to organize them, the relationship between the community and the schools, school programs, school district, administration, personnel, etc.

Other publications of the commission include "How to Organize Local Citizens Committees," reprinted from *The Nation's Schools*, July 1950; *The Citizens Fight for Better Schools in Arlington, Virginia*, by B. Alden Lillywhite, etc.; *Case History of the Council for Delaware Education, Inc.*

Publications during the past two years of the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, include: *Making Democracy Work and Grow—Practical Suggestions for Students, Teachers, Administrators and Other Community Leaders* (23 pages, 15 cents); *How Democratic Is Your School, Checklist on Democratic Practices for Secondary Schools* (eight pages); *Growing Into Democracy* (64 pages, 30 cents); and *What Is Democracy? America's Schools Are Writing the Definition*, a series of articles from the *Christian Science Monitor* (40 pages).

Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training (191 pages), by Charles C. Peters, describes "The Miami Experiment in Democratic, Action-Centered Education." It was published by the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, in 1948.

¹See the REVIEW, September 1950, page 418.

And Now 'Gold Feather' Week

The use of the gold feather as a symbol of American citizenship is spreading. Originally developed in Richmond, Virginia,¹ where it is given out at the polls to those citizens who cast their ballots, the symbol is now taking hold in the far west. Exchange Clubs in California were spurred on by a successful demonstration of cooperation in getting out the vote between the club and the city council in San Jose.

"In San Jose," reports *Western City*, "the get-out-the-vote campaign and Gold Feather Week immediately preceded the municipal primary election. It opened with the city council conferring the title of 'distinguished citizen' on ten San Jose residents. A selection committee of five, appointed by the city council, designated the awardees, and rewarded outstanding citizens in an impressive ceremony.

"Other events of the week were boys' city day, council candidates' day and I Am an American Day, featuring a recognition ceremony for naturalized citizens—all with appropriate and extensive newspaper and radio publicity. The week was climaxed by 'Religion in Democracy' on Sunday with the theme actively promoted by the community's churches. The principal purpose was to get out a heavy vote in three local elections, the municipal primary, the municipal final and the statewide primary, all within six weeks of each other.

"Through employers, the schools, the movie theaters, stores, the churches, service clubs and by street corner distribution, 75,000 miniature gold colored feathers were distributed; more

than a thousand posters were displayed."

Potpourri

The Poughkeepsie Area Development Association celebrated its second birthday in September. "Originally set up for a two-year period," says its bulletin, *Plans and Action*, "the association's activities were extended, by action of the board in late 1949, for an additional three-month period through the end of 1950. It is now expected that the operations of the association will be extended into 1951."

The Civic Federation of Chicago heard N. Bradford Trenham, general manager of the California Taxpayers' Association, at its annual membership meeting on October 16. Mr. Trenham's subject was "State and Local Governments: The Bulwarks of Our Republic."

"A Tale of Two Cities," an article in the second issue of the *Kansas City Citizen*, published by the Citizens' Association of Kansas City, Missouri, compares St. Louis, "a metropolis of deficits and decay," with Kansas City, which "ten years ago threw machine political government overboard."

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, heard William J. Deegan, Jr., city manager of Quincy, at its first fall meeting on October 30. Mr. Deegan, a former city manager of Superior, Wisconsin, has spent 25 years in public service. The association's board of directors has appointed a committee of six to evaluate the progress of the city government under its Plan E charter, in operation nearly a year. Its education committee is investigating the possibility of initiating a series of radio programs to stimulate thinking on important city issues.

"What Ails Politics" is the title of
(Continued on page 584)

¹See "Drama Gets Out the Vote," by Charles Henry Hamilton. The REVIEW, March 1949, page 116.

Wisconsin Educates Local Officials

County, Municipal Employees Attend University Institutes

SINCE early 1949 some 250 Wisconsin local government officials and employees have participated in a series of schools on administrative procedures, conducted by the Bureau of Government of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin.

In 1948 the County Boards Association requested the bureau to provide institutes for county board members. The associations of county treasurers, county clerks, registers of deeds and county traffic officers subsequently requested that institutes be conducted for their officers.

This led to an emphasis on county government, although the bureau also provides services to cities and village governments if such services are not otherwise available.

A 90- to 150-page manual is prepared before each institute, which lays out in precise terms not only what is to be covered but also much of the basic information. Originally bound, more recent manuals have been loose leaf to permit inclusion of supplementary materials.

The pattern of the institutes has undergone substantial change. The early institutes consisted of a series of speeches and panels, drawing heavily on the officials themselves. More recently outside experts have been drawn on more heavily and the problem type approach has been developed to a greater degree.

Objectives of the institutes are dissemination of accurate information

on the interpretation of the law, stimulation of improved administrative procedures and development of uniform interpretations and procedures. It is generally felt that within the framework of local self-government which is so strongly established in this state there is ample opportunity for a degree of uniformity in the application of the law. Matters of legislative policy are carefully avoided although weaknesses in the substantive and procedural aspects of the law are noted.

The bureau has also provided institutes for municipal librarians, city attorneys and for top level administrators for Madison. In the latter courses twenty department and division heads enrolled in a ten-session course which met for two hours once a week. Each assignment included a summary of the text material, discussion questions, a series of case studies and some supplementary readings. A manual of more than 300 pages incorporated this material, *Municipal Administrative Practice*, "A Course in Administrative Management" (\$3).

As a result of the reasonably broad cross-section of opportunities which has been explored during the past two years many possible areas of operation have been suggested. The value of an opportunity for local officials to discuss their problems at these institutes is becoming increasingly apparent. The bureau's activities in general and the institute technique in particular may in a very real way help close the gap between the need for uniform administration of the law and the desire for local self-government. It affords a method whereby the resources of the university can be

made available to a broader segment of the state's people.

M. G. TOEPFEL, *Chief*
Wisconsin Legislative Reference
Library

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Accounting

Principles of Municipal Accounting. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments*, October 1950. 6 pp.

Annexation

Should Cities Extend City Limits? By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City*, October 1950. 6 pp.

Budgets

The City Manager's Budget for 1951. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, October 1950. 6 pp. Tables.

Long-Range Capital Improvement Program. Providence, Rhode Island, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, September 1950. 3 pp.

Statement of Daniel L. Kurshan, Executive Director of the Citizens Budget Commission on the Proposed 1951 Capital Budget. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, October 16, 1950. 7 pp.

Constitutions

The Need for Constitutional Revision in West Virginia. By Albert L. Sturm. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau of Government Research, 1950. 69 pp.

Oklahoma Constitutional Studies. Oklahoma City 5, State Legislative Council, Oklahoma Constitutional Survey and Citizen Advisory Committees, 1950. xxxiv, 609 pp. Tables, charts.

Crime Prevention

The Crime Prevention Division of the St. Louis Police Department. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, 1950. 38 pp. Tables.

Debt

Keep State and Local Debt Within Bounds. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Bulletin*, October 1950. 2 pp.

Education

Des Moines School Building Costs. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes*, October 1950. 2 pp.

Local Public School Organization in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government*, October 15, 1950. 3 pp.

The New School Law. 1. Financial Independence for the Schenectady School System. 2. The Appointed and the Elected Board of Education. Schenectady 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, September 26 and October 4, 1950. 4 and 5 pp. respectively.

Partisan Politics on the Campus. Policies regarding the appearance of political figures on the campuses of publicly supported institutions of higher learning in the United States. By Robert F. Ray and Richard H. Plock. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 71 pp.

Elections and Voting

"Tis the Ballot Box." An American Institution, It Suffers from Disinterest. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook*, October 1950. 3 pp.

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Full Employment Through Business Enterprise. Five Years of Research in One Community. Kalamazoo, Michigan, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1950. 24 pp.

Industry

Resources for Industry in Kalamazoo. By Samuel V. Bennett and Jack

E. Jordan. Kalamazoo, Michigan, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1950. 32 pp. Tables.

Intergovernmental Relations

How 1950 Legislation Affects Boston. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, October 24, 1950. 4 pp.

Inter-Relationship Between the County and the Various Municipalities. Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, Division of Administrative Research, 1949. 25 pp.

Municipal Government

The Problem of Municipal Government in Wellston. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, 1950. 10 pp.

Police

We Suggest a Three-Year Police Motorization Increase—Not a Three-Year Manpower Increase. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, October 25, 1950. 3 pp.

Pre-Primary Convention

New Mexico's Proposed Pre-Primary Designating Convention. By Charles B. Judah and Oliver E. Payne. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1950. iii, 29 pp.

Public Works

\$400,000,000 State Building Program. Status of Postwar Plan Outlined. By A. Alan Post. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, October 1950. 6 pp. Tables.

Rabies Control

Rabies Control. By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, October 1950. 11 pp.

Refuse Collection

The Fee System for Refuse Collection. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs*, October 19, 1950. 3 pp.

Salaries

City Employees Ask Pay Increases, Other Changes. Philadelphia, Bureau

of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, October '23, 1950. 3 pp.

Police-Fire Salary Measure. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, October 10, 1950. 1 p.

Snow and Ice Control

Snow and Ice Control. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, November 1950. 3 pp.

Surveys

Light Instead of Heat. The League Makes Its Study of Pittsburgh's Department of Lands and Buildings. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, September 1950. 9 pp.

Taxation and Finance

County Tax Rates 1943 to 1951. Payments by California Cities 1947-48 and 1948-49. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, October 1950. 5 and 9 pp. respectively.

Reducing the Cost of County Government. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review*, October 1950. 5 pp.

Revenues and Expenditures of Utah County Governments 1949. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1950. 6 pp. Tables.

State Net Income Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, November 1950. 5 pp.

The Taxpayer Gets a Break. Minneapolis, Taxpayers Association, *Taxpayer*, November 1950. 2 pp.

Tax Limitations

Skyrocketing Property Taxes Threatened Unless 1951 General Assembly Acts. Supreme Court Ruling in TFI Case Clarifies Tax Limit Problem. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, *The Watchdog*, October 16, 1950. 3 pp.

Training for Public Service

Assessors School Draws 80 to University of Connecticut. School for Firefighters Gives Advanced Methods. Storrs, University of Connecticut, *Connecticut Government*, September 1950. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

The University and the Public Service. By Albert Lepawsky. (Reprinted from *Journal of Legal Education*, Spring 1950.) University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 19 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 569)

Thirty-four contributors, in addition to Dr. Wager, wrote chapters on county government in the one or more states assigned to them. Dr. Wager wrote ten of the chapters under a grant from the Carnegie Fund for Research at the University of North Carolina, and nine chapters were prepared as part of a doctoral dissertation submitted by Emmett Asseff at the University of North Carolina.

The significance of counties as important governmental units is emphasized by Dr. Wager in the concluding sentence of his preface in which he states, "County government is close to the people; it serves them in an increasing number of ways; it needs their understanding, their support, their constructive thinking if it is to remain or become a demonstration and a bulwark of American democracy."

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 566)

of excessively long journeys to work. While methods of guidance will vary according to national characteristics, physical conditions and circumstances, the need of forethought and some measure of control of use-zoning, occupation density and the location of in-

dustry is common to all countries, if not identical, and in the view of this Congress should be a major concern of governmental policy and of public opinion."

Nearly 50 Per Cent of Hoover Report Realized

Estimates of the Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government indicate that nearly 50 per cent of the recommendations of the Hoover report on executive reorganization have been enacted into law.

Three more Hoover Commission bills were passed and signed in the closing days of the last session of Congress. They are:

Public Law 841, modernizing the organization and management of Panama Canal activities;

P. L. 874, the Budgeting and Accounting Procedures Act, which approves the performance type of budget setup, recommended by the Hoover Commission and recently placed in effect by the Bureau of the Budget, and prescribes a modern uniform system of federal accounting; and

P. L. 873, providing for "performance ratings" in place of the type of "efficiency ratings" heretofore given to civil service personnel. Under the new system the work requirements of federal positions are to be definitely set forth for the information of officers and employees concerned, and performance of the functions is to be appraised in relation to such requirements with a view to improving effectiveness of employee work and strengthening supervisor-employee relationships.

The Second National Reorganization Conference will be held in Washington, at the Shoreham Hotel, December 11 and 12, with discussion of accomplishments and further goals.

Books in Review

County Government Across the Nation. Edited by Paul W. Wager. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950. xiii, 817 pp. \$7.50.

Here is a big new source book. Dr. Wager has been diligently accumulating information on our least known unit of government for over 25 years and for a long time has been the country's principal authority on counties and rural government generally. In these pages, with the aid of numerous correspondents, he has accomplished the feat of collecting from every state parallel descriptions of law and practice including the structure of each state's court and school system, the place therein of the counties, the structure of at least one typical county and of at least one town or township where such subdivisions exist.

The volume becomes the logical starting point for every excursion into this field hereafter, providing us for the first time with any such line-up of facts from all the states. Indeed it is the first book on county government since 1933. Thousands of footnotes in other books hereafter will acknowledge the debt of authors to Dr. Wager.

The pictures of county government support all the ridicule of past commentators as to its undue complexity, its ramshackle structure, its unprogressiveness and the wonder as to how such a loose-jointed contraption could ever work at all. But the author draws no moral and ventures no conclusions; it is a bit disappointing that he does not bring in the Model County Manager Charter, the National Municipal League's program in the county field and the story of the progress that has been made in developing the principles of county managership in fifteen counties.

Each of the 48 accounts has usefulness within one state and as the interest of many will be limited to the data on their respective home states, the necessity of paying \$7.50 to get the twenty to fifty pages devoted thereto becomes a barrier to the circulation of the material to ordinary citizens. Civic organizations, schools, legislators and the state Leagues of Women Voters could use the state chapters as local manuals of basic information if each state section could be made available in separate pamphlets printed on order from the plates. The high school civics textbooks which must necessarily generalize when they reach the field of local government, could thus be supplemented by complete and specific data on the county and rural setups of the home state.

R. S. C.

Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System. A report of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association. (Issued as a supplement to the *American Political Science Review*, September 1950.) New York 16, Rinehart and Company, 1950. 99 pp. \$1.

This committee of sixteen university professors was headed by E. E. Schattschneider of Wesleyan University and began work in 1947. With classic coolness and good order, it reviews the role of the political parties and the need for strengthening them as real parties with better integration and responsibility as an offset to the dangerous modern growth of self-serving pressure groups. The latter are credited with replacing the older geographical sectionalism with a new sectionalism based on economic conflicts.

Specifically, the report suggests: Make the national party conventions smaller and have them meet at least biennially; give the convention control of a national committee which correctly reflects actual party strength in the areas its members represent; create a party council of 50 members to develop recommendations on platform and policy every two years; create an authorized party leadership in Congress with enough influence in making committee assignments to override seniority and power to impart priority to causes; closed primaries, four-year terms for representatives, fair apportionment within states; removal of other ballot clutter by state action shortening ballots; more completely financed research into the elective process.

The report keeps to the national level. It neglects the fact that most of our 165,000 units of government are local, about nine times more numerous than is necessary and most of them individually unnecessarily complex. Parties deal with nearly a million elective offices of which less than 600 are in the national government; accordingly, like icebergs, they are mostly below the surface of the national scene responding to unseen and unpredictable currents and erosions. The preoccupation of the party managers with local affairs makes national questions almost a side issue in their day's work. The congressman, too, is heavily moored to local politics and will risk his bread and butter if he lets himself be moved by party leadership at Washington to objectives unfamiliar to his home district political club houses.

The effect of nonpartisan municipal elections, now in use in 60 per cent of our 2,000 cities of over 5,000 population, must be to congressmen a de-

sirable disentanglement from alien contentions, and state contests which proceed in disregard of national party lines are also in sight. Until there is some such severance of national from state and local issues or until local party management, by sweeping simplification, is gotten out of the hands of self-serving mechanics, the party managers will continue to be the kind who will have little time or interest in such intellectual abstractions as national party policy.

Nevertheless the plea of this committee for organized authorized leadership of parties in their national operations is sound and well defended. It reveals how much more could be done by the great collection of diligent and competent faculties which make up the association if they could be implemented with money enough to pay for travel expenses of committee members to meetings, secretarial help, field workers and free dissemination of findings to key people in the fields discussed.

R. S. C.

The Patronage System in Oklahoma. By H. O. Walby. Norman, Oklahoma, The Transcript Company, 1950. 100 pp. \$1.

A richly factual picture of the current and recent conditions of Oklahoma's state government, still running an unabashed spoils system with jobs as the medium of exchange in the legislature. Oklahoma, despite long campaigning by the League of Women Voters, has no civil service merit system whatever. The turnover from one administration to another is immense and payrolls are padded. A dismal picture of a backward state, reminiscent of conditions that were banished in New York State, for instance, 75 years ago.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Defense

Survival under Atomic Attack. By National Security Resources Board, Civil Defense Office. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Elections and Voting

Absentee Voting in Wisconsin. A Discussion of the Duties of Municipal Clerks and Election Officials. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1950. 9 pp.

Health

A Survey of Accident and Health Coverage in the United States as of December 31, 1949. By the Survey Committee of the Health Insurance Council. New York 22, Health Insurance Council, 1950. 14 pp.

What's the Score? Evaluation of Local Public Health Services. By Ray Torr in consultation with Roscoe P. Kandle. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1950. 52 pp.

Municipal Government

Your City of Dayton, Ohio, in Review. A Three-Year Progress Report. 1947 Challenge, 1948 Decision, 1949 Action. Dayton, Office of the Mayor, 1950. 48 pp. Illus.

Planning

The Planning Function in Urban Government (second edition). By Robert A. Walker. Chicago 37, University of Chicago Press, 1950. xxi, 410 pp. \$4.75.

Police

Police Administration. By O. W. Wilson. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950. x, 540 pp. \$6.

State Government

Government, Politics and Administration in Missouri. By Carl A. Mc-

Candless. St. Louis, Educational Publishers, 1949. 314 pp. \$3.

Subversion

Municipal Registration and Control of Communists. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1950. 9 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Collections of the State of Oklahoma 1941-42 to 1948-49. Fund Accounts of the State of Oklahoma 1941-42 to 1948-49. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 33 and 21 pp. respectively.

The Financial Responsibility of Municipal Clerks and Finance Officers. A Discussion of Possible Personal Liability in the Performance of Official Duties. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1950. 20 pp.

Legal Problems Involving Act 481 (second edition). By Elizabeth Smedley. Harrisburg, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Internal Affairs, 1950. 48 pp.

Sales Tax Collections for the Fiscal Years 1937-38 Through 1948-49 by Business Classification Showing the Increase or Decrease by Years and a Comparison of the Per Cent of the Total Collections Represented by Each Concern. **State Income Tax.** Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 21 and 32 pp. respectively.

Some Aspects of Recent Corporation Income Tax Legislation in Canada. By J. R. Petrie. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, September-October 1950.

Taxing Municipal Bond Income. By Lyle C. Fitch. Berkeley 4, University of California Press, 1950. xi, 161 pp. \$2.50.

Text Books

Readings in American National and State Government. By David Fellman, Lane W. Lancaster and A. C. Breckenridge. New York 16, Rine-

hart & Company, 1950. viii, 347 pp. \$2.40.

Traffic

Get Out of the Traffic Muddle. A Program for Community Action. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1950. 8 pp.

Problems in Drafting Traffic Laws. By J. Allen Davis. Washington, D. C., American Automobile Association, Traffic Engineering and Safety Department, 1950. 16 pp.

A Volume Warrant for Urban Stop Signs. By Morton S. Raff. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1950. 121 pp.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for December 1950. Theme: **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. Variouslly paged.

Urban Decentralization

Office Decentralization. A Challenge the Central City Must Meet. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, October 1950. 2 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

Blighted Vacant Land. An Opportunity for the City and the Private Builder. By Carl L. Gardner. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, September 1950. 3 pp.

Utility Bill Collections

Municipal Substations for Utility Bill Collections. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1950. 8 pp. 35 cents.

Water

Clean Water Is Everybody's Business. By Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, in cooperation with the State Water Pollution Control Agencies. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 26 pp. Single copies free; 20 cents each in quantity.

Conservation and Development of the Water Resources of Connecticut

and New England. By Richard Martin. (Submitted to the President's Water Resources Policy Commission.) Hartford, Connecticut State Water Commission, 1950. 29 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 576)

an attractive illustrated folder of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance. Too few good citizens are offering themselves as candidates for public office, concludes the alliance. "If good men won't run for public office, then good men will never be elected."

Strictly Personal

The Board of Governors of the City Club of Chicago has elected Dr. John A. Lapp, widely known in educational, social service and labor relations circles, as president. Dr. Lapp, one of Chicago's outstanding civic leaders, has been active in the work of the club for many years. For the past year he has been chairman of its Local Government Committee.

John C. Phillips, former deputy attorney general of Pennsylvania, has been elected president of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning. He succeeds Henry C. Beerits.

Benjamin Torf, a former teacher and ardent worker for Plan E in Revere, Massachusetts, has been appointed executive secretary of the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester. He succeeds James Gratton, who has resigned to study law at Harvard University.

The Connecticut Merit System Association has appointed Henry Hallas as its executive secretary, succeeding Mrs. Aileen Roberts Lotz. Mr. Hallas, former newspaper man, will also act as editor of the association's publication, *The Merit Man*.

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 45 pages (1949).....	\$.20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1949).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1948).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1948)05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929).....	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County Manager Charter (Preliminary Draft) 37 pages.....	1.00
Model Direct Primary Election System (Preliminary Draft) 58 pages....	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930).....	.75
Model Liquor Control Law, 34 pages (1934).....	.75
Model Medico-legal Investigative System (Preliminary Draft).....	1.00
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950).....	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949).....	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941).....	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 90 pages (1950).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947).....	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948).....	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1939).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25

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